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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 68. We are indebted to Mr. James Yates for the suggestion that the small building on the shore of Mount's Bay, described by Mr. Rogers, may have been an oven for burning sea-weed to make kelp. The manufacture, now abandoned, was formerly carried on actively on the shores of Scotland and the Hebrides, in ovens or furnaces resembling those found in Cornwall. See Prof. Jameson's *Mineralogy of the Scottish Isles*, and Dr. McCulloch's *Western Islands, &c.* In Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, published in 1602, we learn that in his time sea-weed was burnt in like manner to be used as manure. Mr. R. Hunt, keeper of mining records, who is well acquainted with Cornwall and its ancient remains, has seen the building at Mount's Bay, and he concurs in Mr. Yates' opinion. Kelp was much used for glass-making at Bristol; and, although at the present time, as Mr. Rogers informs us, sea-weed is scarce on the Cornish coast, the manufacture of kelp may have formerly been carried on there. The process, described by Mr. Rogers would lead us to expect, if we accept the supposition that they were for such a purpose, but he is disposed to regard Mr. Yates' conjecture as by no means improbable.

Page 73, line 40, for "Rev. H. Hussey," read "Rev. Robert Hussey." The memoir in question, read by him before the Ashmolean Society in 1840, and published at Oxford, is entitled—An account of the Roman Road from Alchester to Dorchester, and other Roman remains in the neighbourhood. It is noticed *Gent. Mag.* xvii. N. S. p. 620.

Page 158. The effigy at Pershore with a horn in the right hand has been figured in the *Journal Brit. Arch. Ass.* vol. iv. p. 319.

Page 159. The singular effigy in Wadworth church, Yorkshire, has been figured in a Memoir read by Mr. Bloxam at the Annual Meeting of the Architectural Society at York, 25th Oct., 1849, and printed there for R. Sunter, 1850, 8vo. Several sepulchral memorials of various classes might be enumerated on which hunting-horns occur. An incised slab with a diminutive effigy, at the right side of which a horn is suspended, was found in 1857, at Steeple Langford, Wilts; it is figured in this *Journal*, vol. xv. p. 75, and has been supposed to represent Waleran the Hunter, who held lands in the parish. Another, at Skegby, Notts, is figured by Thoroton, vol. ii. p. 302. A horn occurs also on an effigy in the Isle of Bute. Incised slabs with crosses and other ornaments, including horns, occur at the following places:—Great Salkeld, Cumberland, figured in *Lysons' Magn. Brit.* p. cxcv.; Hulton, in the same county, the manor was anciently held by the service of keeping the king's forest in Plumpton, *Lysons*, p. 115; Darley, Derbyshire, *Cutts' Sep. Slabs*, pl. ix.; Bowes, Yorkshire, *Boutell's Christian Mon.* p. 36; Papplewick, Notts, probably the memorial of a forester of Sherwood, *Cutts' Slabs*, pl. xxvii.; fragment of a slab found at Bakewell, Derbyshire, figured in this *Journal*, vol. iv. p. 53, *Boutell, ut supra*, p. 72. A horn occurs on one of the richly decorated slabs at Strachur, Argyllshire. Of sepulchral brasses may be mentioned one formerly at Woking; it is described by Aubrey, *Hist. of Surrey*, as the memorial of Gilbert Gilpyn, "parcarii de Woking Parke;" part of a figure at Baldoek, Herts, date about 1420, engraved in Mr. Haines' *Manual of Brasses*, p. cxxx.; brass of John Selwyn, gentleman-keeper of the Queen's Park at Oatlands, 1587; James Gray, park-keeper at Hunsdon, Herts, 1591. At Dronfield, Derbyshire, is a memorial of two brothers habited in copes; between the effigies is a horn; one of these represents Thomas Gouffrey, Rector of Dronfield, 1399, Bateman's *Vestiges*, p. 207. At Bexley, Kent, is a memorial with brass plates representing a horn and its baldric encircling an escutcheon.

Page 170, line 11. Add the following notices of brass tripod vessels. See several examples found in Lanarkshire, usually called camp-kettles, *Journal Brit. Arch. Ass.* 1861, pl. 20, p. 209. See also Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. second edit. p. 497. A singular very diminutive tripod pot found in Leicestershire is figured, *Gent. Mag.* vol. cxi. p. 546. Upon a sepulchral slab in the York Museum are introduced a bell and a tripod caldron accompanying a cross flory, doubtless the memorial of a brass-founder. Tripod brass caldrons are often found in Ireland; see *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v. p. 90; Sir W. Wilde's *Catalogue of the Museum*, Roy. Irish Acad., p. 535, where one of unusually large size, with the date 1640, is figured; and *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i. p. 84.

Page 170. A similar stone mould for casting spear-heads was found about 1805, near a stone circle or "cahir" in co. Galway; it is figured, *Archæologia*, vol. xv. pl. 34, p. 394.

Page 190. Several remarkable instances of preservation of human hair in early interments are recorded by Douglas, *Nenia*, p. 56, note, p. 90, pl. xxii.

Page 200. The bronze armlet here figured is now deposited in the British Museum.

Page 238. Additional note to Mr. E. Waterton's memoir on niello.—A remarkable example of Roman niello work in this country is supplied by the bronze skillet or *trulla* found at Prickwillow, in the Isle of Ely, exhibited by Mr. Goddard Johnson in the Museum of the Institute at the Norwich Meeting. *Museum Catalogue*, p. xxviii. It bears the name—*nonvocens* * * * on the handle, which is decorated with a trailing branch of vine nielloed, and is inlaid with silver and copper. This object is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. pl. 25, p. 436. See also *Journal Brit. Arch. Ass.*, vol. iv. p. 154.

Page 255, note 3, for "Drattington," read "Prattington."

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1863.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WULFSTAN, BISHOP OF WORCESTER.¹

By the VERY REV. WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester.

For the history of Wulfstan we have materials from writers contemporary, or nearly so. Heming, Sub-prior of Worcester, compiled a Chartulary under Wulfstan's directions, which contains a brief memoir of the bishop, printed in the *Anglia Sacra*;² and Florence of Worcester, as might be expected, is, on this subject, less concise than usual. But the most important work is that of William of Malmesbury. He wrote the life of Wulfstan at the request of Guarin, Prior of Worcester, and therefore before the year 1143, when the prior died. This work is the more valuable because Malmesbury states, in the preface, that it is not an original composition, but a translation from the Anglo-Saxon of Coleman.³ Coleman had been Wulfstan's chaplain for fifteen years, and in 1089, as his chancellor, attached his signature to a charter which is printed in the *Monasticon*. When Wulfstan established a monastery at Westbury, Coleman was his first prior.⁴ In Malmesbury's treatise *De Gestis Pontificum*, we have another notice of Wulfstan. There are notices of him by Roger de Hoveden, by Bromton and Knyghton, and other chroniclers of later date, whose works may be found in the *Decem Scriptores*.

Wulfstan was born at Long Itchington (Icentune), or, as

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section at the Meeting of the Institute at Worcester, July, 1862.

² Extracts from the Chartulary are given by Dugdale; the whole Chartulary

is published by Hearne. The original is MS. Cott. Tiberius, A. xiii.

³ *Ang. Sac.* ii. 242.

⁴ Wright, *Anglo-Norman Period*, p. 46.

Florence describes it, in that part of the Mercian district which lies within the shire of Warwick. His father's name was Ælstan or Athelstan. Ælstan received the grant of one manse at Itchington, in 991, from the celebrated Bishop Oswald, who describes him as "his man."⁵ The name of Athelstan occurs as the treasurer of St. Peter's Church at Worcester, immediately before Cynsige or Wynsige; and when we couple this fact with the grant just mentioned, we may suppose that the father of Wulfstan was one of those for whom Oswald made provision elsewhere, when he desired to have the offices of St. Peter's Church filled by men who were favourable to his designs upon that establishment, to which we shall have occasion more particularly to refer. The conditions of Oswald's grants, which were for life or for three lives, were uniform, and are the more remarkable as they show how the principle of feudalism prevailed, even before its complete establishment at the Conquest. The tenants of the bishop were to render subjection to him, to furnish him with horses, and to ride themselves when he demanded their services; to perform all the work about the steeple of the church, and for the building of castles and bridges; to fence the bishop's park, and to furnish him with weapons when he went a-hunting; to obey his summons whenever he raised his standard for the king's service or his own; and to render obedience to the commander whom he might appoint to lead his forces.⁶

This was a heavy rent, and the man who could accept the terms must have been a man of substance. Dugdale states that Itchington was a town certified at the time of the Conquest to contain twenty-four hides. It had a church in which two priests officiated. It had also two mills, rated at 6s. 8d., with woods of two furlongs in length and one in breadth, valued at twenty pounds, but which, after the Conquest, realised a rent of thirty-six pounds.⁷

Florence of Worcester is very particular in giving the date of Wulfstan's death. It took place on the night of Saturday, the 18th of January, in the middle of the seventh hour, in the year 5299 from the beginning of the world according to the certain evidence of Holy Scripture, in the

⁵ Thomas, 48. Heming. Chart. 126.

cited by Spelman, ii. c. 26, p. 41.

⁶ See a Charter entitled *Indiculum Libertatis de Oswaldia-lawes Hundred*,

⁷ Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.

529th of the ninth great cycle, in the 476th of the ninth cycle from the beginning of the world, in the 1084th from the passion of our Lord according to the gospel, the 1066th according to the calculation of Bede, and the 1061st according to Dionysius; in the 741st from the arrival of the Angles in Britain, the 498th from the arrival of Augustin, the 103rd from the death of St. Oswald the archbishop, in the 302nd of the eleventh great Paschal cycle, and the 502nd of the tenth from the beginning of the world, in the 4th of the second solar cycle, in the 3rd of the Bissextile cycle, in the 13th of the second cycle of 19 years, in the 10th of the second lunar cycle, in the 5th of the Hendecad, in the 3rd cycle of the Indiction, in the 18th lustrum of his own life, and in the third year of the 7th lustrum of his pontificate.

It is interesting to have such minuteness of detail, though we are compelled to subscribe to the opinion expressed by Wharton—"Multiplex in hisce numeris error deprehendi potest."⁸ All that we gather, when stated in plain English, is that Wulfstan died on the 18th of January, 1095, in the 87th year of his age, or thereabouts. We may therefore give the year 1008 or 1007 for the date of his birth. The name of his father, Athelstan, has been mentioned: his mother's name was Wulfgeva. His own name was compounded, the first half of his mother's name, and the latter part of his father's.

The parents of Wulfstan provided carefully for the education of their son. He received his primary education at Evesham, and thence proceeded to Peterborough, where the school had risen to high repute under Kenulph, the second abbot under the new foundation. Kenulph is described by Hugo as "*Flos liberalis disciplinæ, torrens eloquentiæ, decus et norma rerum divinarum et secularium.*" His name still reflected credit on the establishment, although in 1006 he had become Bishop of Winchester. His successor Ælsin was also a remarkable man. He had been for three years in Normandy with Emma, who, in spite of the Anglo-Saxon prejudices against the title, called herself queen. He was a man of taste and a collector of relics; he prided himself on the possession of one of the arms of King Oswald, of which Hugo Candidus gives a description.⁹

⁸ Ang. Sac. ii. 276.

⁹ Monasticon, i. 346.

Wulfstan's preceptor under Ælsin was Ervenius, a man eminently skilful in calligraphy and in illuminating books. He took a liking to Wulfstan and committed to his custody some of his choicest treasures, especially a sacramentary and a psalter. Wulfstan admired the exterior of the volumes, but not content with this he studied them so deeply that he soon learned to repeat the Psalms. Florence expressly states that Wulfstan became a proficient in literature and in all ecclesiastical duties. While Wulfstan was in Peterborough, Canute and Emma paid a visit to the Abbot Ælsin; and Ervenius, to win their good graces, presented the illuminated sacramentary to the king, and the psalter to the queen, sore against the will and in spite of the remonstrances of the less courtly Wulfstan, who complained that by the loyal donation the monastery was robbed of what the young student regarded as the most valuable of its possessions.

When Wulfstan returned to his parents at Long Itchington, they gazed with admiration on his graceful figure, and on his handsome countenance, expressive of the serenity of his mind and of his manly character. He possessed a strong constitution and a temper so good that he was never thrown off his guard, although he was endowed with a ready wit and powers of repartee.

The high-spirited youth had a keen relish for the enjoyments of life, and joined in the sports and exercises which became his age and position in society. He was in love, but his love-story only comes down in the shape of a legend, much like other love-legends of the age when told by a monk. The attachment was mutual, but this was not wonderful, for his ladylove was a beautiful fiend in human shape, whose object was to ruin the innocent young man. In those days the lady was generally represented as the seducer. We can only accept the residuum of truth which we find, after sifting the story. By a strong exertion of his will, young Wulfstan tore himself away from the object of his affection, and determined to remain a bachelor. His parents and especially his mother urged him to this course, as they destined him for the clerical profession. In spite of the regulations of Dunstan, the secular clergy, indeed, continued still to marry, but a married clergyman was at that period regarded by many in the same light as a clergyman who should, in these days, appear on the race-course or dance at a ball. Wulfgeva

was doubtless a matron of the stricter sort. This circumstance may have conduced to the arrangement which was soon carried into effect, by which the parents of Wulfstan broke up their home and retired each to a monastery. Other reasons may indeed be assigned. On the death of Canute, it did not require much sagacity to perceive that troublous times were at hand. A disputed succession to the crown, in all ages a calamity, must have been, at that period, peculiarly disastrous. Between the years 1035 and 1039, during the reign of Harold Harefoot, men's hearts were failing them for fear. We have seen what were the conditions upon which a tenant of the church of Worcester held his manse, and those conditions it would be hard for an aged man to fulfil. Accordingly Athelstan and Wulfgeva separated by mutual consent; he became a monk, she a nun in the city of Worcester. They had a daughter; how they disposed of her I do not know,—perhaps, as she is not spoken of as a nun, she married. But they obtained for Wulfstan a situation in the family of Brighteag, the Bishop of Worcester. This must have been before 1038, in which year Brighteag died. He was ordained both deacon and priest by Brighteag, but he still retained the secular habit and his relish for the enjoyments of life.

An anecdote must be referred to this period, which is valuable because it is characteristic of the man and of his times. Wulfstan enjoyed the pleasures of the table, and had a particular liking for roast goose. Boiled meats were generally placed on an Anglo-Saxon table; therefore special directions were to be given when anything roast or fried was to be prepared. The order was given by Wulfstan that a roast goose should be prepared for his dinner. He then went about his ordinary business. There were many clients of the bishop to whom he had to pay attention, and he was involved in secular duties. He had not broken his fast when he was called upon to officiate at the mass. In due time he enters the church extremely hungry, he passes into the chancel, near to which, unfortunately, the kitchen is placed. A whiff of goose soon affects his olfactory nerves, the savour interferes with his devotions. His thoughts wander to his dinner,—*studio culinæ tenetur*;—his conscience reproaches him. His resolution is immediately formed. Then and there before the altar he vowed that, from that time forth,

he would never taste meat ; and he remained a vegetarian all the days of his life, except on festivals when he regaled on fish. What was a fast to others was a luxury to him.

He henceforth lived an ascetic life, and was already in all but profession a monk. The bishop offered him a living, which he declined. His father suggested that he should take the cowl, and his mother urged it with all a woman's eloquence, when she proposes what she believes to be conducive to a child's eternal welfare. He took the monastic vows in the monastery of St. Mary's which had been converted, within his father's memory, into the Cathedral chapter. This was the work of Oswald who held the see in commendam when he was Archbishop of York. Oswald had thrown himself into the movement of the Dunstan party, when Dunstan attempted to expel the married clergy from the cathedrals and to replace them by Benedictines. Oswald had acted with discretion, with some regard for the feelings of others, and with great caution. There had been a monastery at Worcester from the year 743, under the name of St. Mary's. But this was not the Cathedral. The bishop's cathedra was at St. Peter's, and had been there ever since the foundation of the see in 680. The chapter of the Cathedral consisted of secular clergy, many of them married. Oswald's first step was to attend the chapel of St. Mary's Minster, instead of taking his place upon the throne in St. Peter's Church.

He was popular as a preacher. He was regarded as a saint ; the people flocked to St. Mary's to hear his sermons and to receive his blessing. St. Peter's was deserted. Nobody went to the Cathedral. However mortified the members of the Cathedral body may have been by this treatment on the part of the bishop, they had not much reason to complain. The conservative members of the chapter, who were likely to oppose his measures of reform, he removed to a distance by bestowing preferments upon them, or by granting them leases on advantageous terms, and the others he assiduously courted, until the Cathedral body was filled with his devoted followers and submissive adherents.

In the year 969, scarcely any opposition was offered to the proposal of the treasurer, a creature of Oswald's, that

the keys of the emptied Cathedral, with all the emoluments and territories of the establishment, should be made over to the monks of St. Mary's.

The bishop now removed his Cathedra to St. Mary's Church, which has ever since been the cathedral of the diocese; and, finding that a building which sufficed for the church of a monastery was not sufficiently commodious for a cathedral, he proceeded to erect a new church in the churchyard of the neglected St. Peter's.

The chapter of the new Cathedral consisted of monks, from that time till the Reformation, when the monks were treated as they had treated the secular clergy, and the secular clergy thus restored have retained possession to the present hour. Such was the monastery into which Wulfstan was now admitted. But if, in joining himself to the Cathedral body, his object was to secure for himself peace, serenity, and leisure, he was almost immediately deceived.

From the Danegelt, which Ethelred had imposed to enable him to repel the Danes, Canute the Dane had graciously, and with sound policy, liberated the people. But when Hardicanute came to the throne he reinforced the payment, not, indeed, to repel, but to reward his countrymen, the mariners of the fleet which had conveyed him to England. This proceeding naturally gave offence to his Anglo-Saxon subjects; and, when he sent his body-guard to collect the tax in Worcester, the huscarls, Feadu and Thurstan, were resisted and compelled to fly in peril of their lives, to seek refuge in the tower of the minster. They were pursued by the outraged populace and slain. This happened on the 4th of May. In November, the news reached the monks that an army was approaching to take vengeance. The monks and inhabitants generally had time for flight. They left the city, and fortified themselves upon an island in the Severn. The country was ravaged and plundered for four days, and on the fifth the town was sacked.

When Wulfstan and his brethren returned to their home, they found their Cathedral in ruins, and we may assign a probable reason why the vengeance of the Danes should have been especially directed against St. Mary's Church.

I must here allude to the disgusting practice sometimes resorted to by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, of flaying the dead bodies of their Danish enemies, that they might affix

the skins to the doors of churches, in the expectation that they would act on the principle of a scarecrow, that they would excite superstitious fears and deter aggression. In the fifth volume of the *Archæological Journal*, we have a paper on the subject written by Mr. Albert Way, with his accustomed accuracy of research and logical precision. At Worcester, in the crypt of the Cathedral, the wooden doors thus desecrated may still be seen. They were originally in the west doorway, that is, facing the Severn, from which quarter the Danish attack might be expected. The west end of the Cathedral has been attributed to Bishop John de Pagham, but the wooden doors appear to have been retained and placed in the new doorways, from whence they were afterwards removed to the north entrance of the nave.

Now, taking all circumstances into consideration, the most probable period for the attachment of the skins of Danes to these doors is that in which the Saxons of Worcester triumphed over the Danes of Hardicanute; at all events, the doors cannot be of later date than the time of Wulfstan. These barbarous proceedings, if they terrified a few, only exasperated the many, and, in spite of the Danes' skins, or more probably on account of the Danes' skins, the church was nearly destroyed, though the damage was not quite so great as is generally supposed, since Oswald's church served the purposes of a Cathedral till 1084, and even then some of the old work was abolished to make room for the new.

It was a rule with Wulfstan to do with his might what his hands found to do, and he discharged with honor to the monastery the duties which now devolved upon him. The first office which he filled was that of *scholasticus*, or keeper of the schools.

Unless Wulfstan had made himself a scholar at Peterborough, he would not have received this appointment. That he was qualified for it is asserted by Malmesbury, who states that he read deeply, and was thoroughly acquainted with Holy Scripture.¹ Florence of Worcester remarks that he now devoted himself to a contemplative life, passing nights as well as days in the prayerful study of the Bible. He states a fact which he says that he should hardly have believed, if he had it not from high authority, that

¹ Ang. Sac. ii. 247.

Wulfstan would sometimes pass four days and four nights without sleep. A story like this has been told of one of the most eminent men of our own day, Lord Brougham. In either case, the truth probably is, that something like this occurred once in the life of each, under an unusual pressure of business, and consequently under circumstances of intense excitement. We may add here, that the greatest friend of Wulfstan, at a later period, was Robert, Bishop of Hereford, a man of universal information, a divine, a lawyer, a mathematician, a man of science. He would pass days in the society of Wulfstan; and he was not likely to choose for his friend and companion a man devoid of literature. I mention these circumstances because, in modern story, Wulfstan is spoken of as a well-meaning, well-conducted ignoramus, and Malmesbury tells us, in his treatise *De Gestis Pontificum*, that Lanfranc had spoken of him as an unlettered man. This was probably said before Lanfranc had become well acquainted with him, and because Wulfstan contemned the kind of knowledge in which Lanfranc excelled. He despised the learning, says Malmesbury, which consisted in the study of poetic fables and the crooked syllogisms of the Dialecticians (the new scholastic system lately introduced on the Continent); and he spoke Norman-French imperfectly. But Malmesbury truly observed that no man could have preached with such power, elegance, eloquence, and effect as Wulfstan did, and that too very frequently without premeditation, and not be a man of cultivated intellect.

Of Wulfstan's mode of teaching I have nothing to report. Of his discipline we have the following instance. He was not only liberal in his alms-deeds, but very considerate in his mode of administering to the wants of others. This was one secret of his popularity. Wulfstan would arrange his poor on seats, and employ the young men of his school to carry their repast. They were made to place the food with bended knee, as was the custom then with servants, upon the table, and to pour water upon the hands of his pauper guests. If any one, conscious of his high birth, evinced an unwillingness to obey, Wulfstan would chide him as contumacious. He would abase the proud and exalt the lowly.

Wulfstan, after a time, accepted the office of precentor. He was a good musician, and the Anglo-Saxons were fond of music. Nevertheless, I greatly fear that the manner in

which Wulfstan performed this part of his duty must have been peculiarly annoying to the choir. Of his mode of proceeding we happen to have an instance. When the Bishop of Worcester made his visitations, himself on horseback, he was attended, as he travelled through a thinly populated and only half-cultivated country, by a large cavalcade. To make the time pass pleasantly, as the cavalcade wound its way through the straggling village or the streets of a town, along the banks of the Severn or skirting the heights of Malvern, the bishop would call upon the precentor to intone a psalm, and all the company would join in a mighty chorus. This suggests pleasant ideas. But Wulfstan was a very absent man; and one habit of his must have tried the patience and temper of his choir. When some verse occurred which spoke to his heart or caused a special excitement to his devotional feelings, that verse, instead of proceeding to the next, he would repeat over and over again, with eyes uplifted and extended hands. This he would frequently do whenever the prayer-verses recurred; as Malmesbury says, "*usque ad fastidium concantantis.*"²

But if Wulfstan was a bad precentor he became an admirable prior. There is some difficulty in fixing the date of his appointment to this office. He succeeded Æthelwin or Agelwin, but it does not appear when Æthelwin died. Florence states that Wulfstan received the benediction from Aldred. It must therefore have been after the year 1044, in which year Aldred was consecrated Bishop of Worcester. It was before the year 1058; for the ancient Register of Worcester, according to Stevens, informs us that Earl Leofric and his wife Godiva, whose name we still hold in honor at Coventry, restored the manor of Blackwell to the Church, Wulfstan being then prior, and Leofric died in August, 1057. It is conjectured by Stevens that Wulfstan succeeded in 1050,³ and finding the Cathedral in a dilapidated state through the Danes, he busied himself in raising funds for its restoration.

He immediately gave his heart and soul to his new duties. The church and monastery were in a dilapidated condition. There had been such intestine broils in the time of his immediate predecessor, that, instead of the numerous convent of monks instituted by Oswald, scarcely twelve remained.

² De Gest. Pont. 280.

³ Stevens, ii. 464.

Wulfstan almost immediately raised the number to fifty, over whom he exercised a considerate and paternal discipline.

A Cathedral is the parish church of the whole diocese, and Wulfstan felt that, as head of the chapter, he had pastoral duties to discharge. He found that the children of the poor generally remained unbaptized, because the clergy, in violation of every principle of the Church, refused to administer that sacrament unless a fee were paid; and by the venal clergy the ordinance of preaching had been neglected. Prior Wulfstan was seen every day at the door of the Cathedral ready to baptize the children that were brought; and not only did the poor crowd around him, but the rich, having entertained an idea of his saintly character, would place their children in his arms.

As a preacher none could equal him. "You would imagine," says Malmesbury, "that the words he uttered from the pulpit came forth from the shrine of some evangelist or prophet. Like a thunder-bolt they came down upon the wicked, they were distilled like dew on the souls of the elect. His subject was always Christ and Him crucified. So wisely did he choose his texts, that of the Lord Jesus Christ he was for ever speaking. 'Him first, Him last, Him midst and without end.'"

He did not—who does?—escape the attacks of the malignant, even when doing that for which it might be supposed not the shadow of blame could be adduced. But those who, in these days, find fault with the supplementary services in our Cathedrals, affirming that they have a tendency to empty the parish churches, which they do not, had a representative in one Winrich, a monk of Worcester. It pertained, this man said, to a bishop only to preach to the people. Wulfstan was intruding upon the episcopal office; taking too much upon himself; indulging his own vanity, not seeking, as he professed, the salvation of souls. Silence and the cloister, as Winrich declared, were the proper place for a monk. Nothing, however, could move Wulfstan to wrath; he replied meekly, and pursued his course. Winrich's conscience reproached him, and he had the manliness to avow it. It was reported and believed that he had been rebuked in a vision from Heaven; whether he himself gave rise to this story we know not, but the tendency of the age was to attribute ordinary occurrences to a miraculous interposition.

Wulfstan, when prior, was a pattern of punctuality in attending the offices of the Church, and we have an instance of his discipline. If he perceived the stall of one of the brethren vacant at the midnight service—a thing not unusual in his predecessor's time—Wulfstan would not find fault with him in the presence of others, but, as soon as the service was over, he would proceed to his chamber, knock up the drowsy monk, and make him repeat the service, himself bearing his part.

It was the custom to quarter distinguished foreigners upon the wealthy monasteries. It secured the visitors' comfort while it saved the king expense. In the Lent of 1062, two cardinals appeared in England, legates of Alexander II. Their business was political rather than ecclesiastical, if we may so say, at a period when Church and State were so closely united. They were sent as guests to Prior Wulfstan, to remain with him till Easter, as Edward the Confessor could not transact business in Lent. Wulfstan was accustomed to keep Lent with strictness; the cardinals were more lax. Few indeed could come up to Wulfstan's mark. On three days of each week he abstained from food: on the other three he ate only bread and common vegetables. On Sunday, a feast-day, he partook of fish and wine. He felt need of refreshment, and being a thoroughly practical man, he gave himself every year a season of complete relaxation. He carried out the same principle. If he was to be strict and abstemious during six days of Lent, he must make his Sunday a day of holy enjoyment. But Wulfstan was a perfect gentleman in his feelings. He did not try to force his discipline upon others. With true hospitality he permitted his guests to enjoy whatever they deemed allowable. He was not to dictate to them. He alleged, as the ground of his own abstinence, his stricter rule and his special vows.

One of his guests was Hermenfrid, Bishop of Sion, whose friendship was, on more occasions than one, of service to Wulfstan. He and his companion left Worcester, in admiration of its prior, his hospitality, his politeness, his toleration towards others, and his strictness towards himself,—a strictness which it was difficult to imitate, but to which the opinion of the age attached a peculiar sanctity. They departed fully convinced that they had been the guests of a holy man.

For some time before the arrival of the cardinals, ecclesiastical affairs had been in an unsatisfactory state at Worcester. Aldred, consecrated in 1044, had been elected Archbishop of York in 1060. Oswald and other prelates had held the see of Worcester in commendam with the metropolitan see of York, and Aldred could not understand why the favour should not be conceded to him. The whole of the year 1061 was consumed by fruitless intrigues to effect this purpose. It was, however, at last, determined that he should resign the see of Worcester,—and who was to be his successor?

The accounts are conflicting as to the preliminary proceedings and the endeavours to influence the king's mind; but the result was the appointment of Wulfstan. In the days of the Confessor, as in our own, the king gave permission to the chapter to elect, but expected them to elect his nominee. The chapter of Worcester were prepared to elect their prior; but the king's mind was not made up. Edward, false to his race, disliked the Anglo-Saxons, and would gladly have preferred a Norman; but at this time the party of Godwin had the ascendancy, and they strongly pressed upon the king the nomination of Wulfstan. The cardinals arrived at Easter to back their suit. They were full of eulogies of the piety of their late host, and this determined the mind of the weak but devout king.

Wulfstan, like men of ardent piety in all ages, shrank from the acceptance of the proffered office, with an earnestness incomprehensible to those whose estimate of episcopal responsibilities is low, and who rank high the personal advantages attendant upon wealth and station. At length he yielded to the solicitations of his friends, which would be the more urgent from the importance of strengthening the Anglo-Saxon influence in opposition to the Norman predilections of Edward. But a difficulty arose as to his consecration. The see of Worcester having been on more than one occasion held in commendam with that of York, some fear was entertained that the archbishop might claim the Bishop of Worcester as his suffragan. At a later period a controversy on this subject did actually arise. While, therefore, Wulfstan was consecrated by his friend and predecessor Aldred, he was required to take the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury: neither was

Archbishop Stigand contented with this, he required the Archbishop of York to make a promise, in the presence of the king and his nobles, that he would not put forth any claim to ecclesiastical or secular dominion over Wulfstan, either by reason of his having consecrated him, or by reason of his having been one of his monks before consecration.

The consecration took place at York on the 8th of September, 1062; and Wulfstan addressed himself to his new duties. All accounts agree in stating the diligence with which those duties were discharged. He was a great church builder. In all parishes under his jurisdiction, says Malmesbury, he built churches, and elsewhere he persuaded others to do the same. His chief work was at Westbury, where he not only restored the half-demolished church, but attached to it a monastery, so as to supply missionaries to the adjacent districts. His reforms were not in some respects in accordance with modern notions. Wooden altars, says Malmesbury, were common in England, and had existed from ancient days. Against these Wulfstan made war, and substituted altars of stone.

As he had been diligent in the administration of baptism when he was a priest, he was now equally diligent in administering the ordinance of confirmation. He was ever ready to ride from one end of the diocese to the other when he might be of service to the most humble of his flock. He continued to preach in the vulgar tongue, and he was always attended by the treasurer of his household to bestow his alms upon the poor. He won the confidence of all conscience-stricken men, and many who in those days of violence had sad tales to tell, sought interviews to open their grief and to confess their sins. Confession had not yet been systematised into an ordinance, and his intercourse with sinners was more like that which still obtains between a pious pastor and his flock. He would receive the most atrocious offender upon his penitence, with kindness and sympathy. There was nothing haughty in his manner; he did not, says Malmesbury, start back horrified, when men confessed their offences, as if they were unheard-of crimes. He wept with those that wept, and gave the best advice in the kindest manner, ever afterwards treating those who had thus confided in him, whether high or low, as his personal friends.

It is a sore trial to a busy man to have to lay aside important work, to listen to unimportant communications from inconsiderable persons. It is one of the trials of a pastor, to which he must, however, submit, if he is really watching for souls, since what is intrinsically unimportant, may be relatively important to a weak brother. Wulfstan, with true pastoral feeling, was accessible to all persons at all times. He repelled no one : whenever he was sent for, he was on the instant prepared to go : he would postpone any business on which he was engaged, and desired that if sent for at night he might be at once aroused.

As a bishop he was under the necessity of retaining a considerable number of soldiers, especially when, after the Conquest, there was some fear of a Danish invasion. He made a point, whenever he was at home, of dining in the common hall, and of joining with them in conversation. He attended to preserve order and to prevent excess,—and being present, he stated that he thought it a breach of good manners to awe people into silence, and not to put them at their ease by encouraging converse.

A specimen of his table-talk has been preserved. He was accustomed to attend to his dress, having observed that it was a symptom of pride when a person in high station did not attend to little things. But, for some reason, he did not come into the fashion in wearing rich furs. His cloak was made of lambswool. This gave offence to his friend Geoffrey of Coutances, who, on one occasion, when on a visit at Wich-episcopi, remonstrated with Wulfstan on the subject. A man in your position, he said, ought to wear sable, or beaver, or foxskin. Wulfstan smiled and said, "You are a politician ; I leave it to politicians and men of the world to array themselves in the skins of versute animals ; I shall stick to my lambswool, an emblem that I never mean to change my coat."—"Well, but you ought at least to wear catskin," said the Bishop of Coutances ;—"Nay," rejoined Wulfstan, "I have often heard *Agnus Dei* sung, but never *Cattus Dei*." This may sound irreverent and profane, but it was regarded as remarkably clever when Malmesbury wrote ; and on such points it certainly is not for us to be too severe.

We may here mention an instance of Wulfstan's good temper. When he was on his visitations he made a point of attending

daily service in the nearest church. Once, on his way to London, he announced his intention of visiting a church at some distance. His suite remonstrated, for it was Christmas tide and remarkably cold. The way was miry, there was no pathway, a sleety drizzle was falling. A man named Frewen undertook the office of guide, and thought it a good joke to lead the bishop, under a semblance of care and reverence, where the swamp was deepest and the road rough. The bishop sank up to his knees and lost his shoe. It was hoped that he would discontinue his journey. But no,—he was not the man to give in. It was late in the day before he returned to his lodgings. He was wearied and cold. But he would not give a triumph to Frewen by uttering a complaint. He treated the whole matter as an amusing adventure. But he paid his tormentors in their own coin : he directed them to search for his lost shoe. This was only reasonable, but, in the state of the weather and the roads, it was neither an easy nor a pleasant duty which they were then compelled to perform.

A good man, as we have before remarked, is sure to be censured ; the devil will take care of that ; and so now it was said, that Wulfstan lowered the dignity of his office by his affability. He was ready with his answer—"He that is greatest among you, let him be your servant. I am your bishop and master ; therefore I ought, in another sense, to be the servant of all, according to our Lord's precept."

A practical answer was indeed returned to these objectors when the fault-finders saw the first men of the country seeking the society of Wulfstan ; not only asking his advice in what related to the well-being of their own souls, but consulting him also in what pertained to political interests. On one occasion, the illustrious Harold turned out of his road and travelled thirty miles in order that he might hold conversation with the bishop, and, at a later period of his life, as he was proceeding northward to rectify the consequences of Tosti's mis-management, he had a long interview with Wulfstan, when both the earl and the bishop, as we are told, took a gloomy view of public affairs, under the impression that the degeneracy of the Saxon race would bring down the vengeance of Heaven.

Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the age it is to be remarked that the Anglo-Saxon dynasty terminated in a

solemn act of religion,—the consecration of Westminster Abbey, to which Edward the Confessor summoned his nobles and people at the feast of Christmas, 1065. Wulfstan, with all the prelates and great men of the realm, obeyed the summons ; but on Christmas eve the king was suddenly seized with fever, and with difficulty took part in the solemnity. He rallied, however, from this dangerous illness, which brought him to the point of death. The time was one of great anxiety to Wulfstan and other patriots. Edward died on the 5th of May, 1066. Events succeeded to each other with that rapidity which seems to accomplish a revolution before half the world is aware of its commencement. In one year occurred the death of the king, the coronation of Harold, and the apparent brief triumph of the Anglo-Saxon party,—the intrigues and landing of Tosti,—the battle of Stamford Bridge, and the final overthrow of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty at Hastings, or, as “a minute philosopher” would have us say, the battle of Senlac.

After the battle, we find Wulfstan attending the Wite-nagemot, which assembled in London to concert measures to be adopted under the emergency. He acquiesced in all the proceedings. He was aware, as all were, of the ambition and incapacity of the Earls Edwin and Morcar, and, to put an end to their intrigues, he concurred in the suggestion, that the young Atheling, Edgar, should be anointed as the representative of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty.

It was hoped that the Anglo-Saxons would rally round the child, and that a regency might be formed. It was soon found, however, that these hopes were fallacious. No dependence could be placed on the Earls Edwin and Morcar. The Anglo-Saxons, without a leader, were also without an army ; on the other hand, the greatest general and the most unscrupulous statesman of the age was with a victorious army at the gates of the city. The intimidated Londoners, exposed to the intrigues of the Normanizers, who were numerous, were inclined to come to terms with the Conqueror, and to succumb.

The Conqueror was himself allied to the Saxon Royal Family ; and, as Canute had happily united both Danes and Saxons under his paternal government, it might be reasonably hoped that William would follow his noble example.

Wulfstan, therefore, again concurred in the decision of the

Witenagemot, when, under the impression that it was impossible to maintain the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, it was determined to offer the crown to him, who, if it had not been offered, would have seized it. Wulfstan formed part of the commission, which consisted of the young Atheling himself, the two archbishops, the most eminent among the Thanes, together with the leading citizens of London, when they waited upon William at Berkhamstead, and tendered to him their allegiance. He afterwards assisted at William's coronation.

From this time Wulfstan remained firm in his loyalty to the Conqueror and his family. Like another Jeremiah, he lamented the misfortunes of his people, but he counselled them to submit to the powers that be, since the powers that be are ordained by God, even if they be only ordained for the punishment of evil-doers. We have seen how, before the Revolution under William, Wulfstan, in conference with Harold, had anticipated a visitation of vengeance upon the country on account of the increasing immorality of the people; and, after the Conquest, he continued to remind his countrymen that the Normans were the rod which the Divine arm wielded for their deserved castigation. If the Anglo-Saxons replied, as they justly might, that the Normans were worse sinners than themselves, he warned them that it was their business to judge not others, but themselves, and he remarked that the rod, when done with, might itself be cast into the fire; that Satan was a creature more evil than man, yet, for the punishment of man, the agency of Satan was tolerated.⁴

But while he thus preached he was known to have at heart the welfare of the Anglo-Saxon race, and therefore he was trusted. He was ever ready to alleviate the sufferings of his people, but, seeing how those sufferings were multiplied by their impotent revolts, he would never sanction a recourse to arms. His whole object seems to have been, while proud of his own Anglo-Saxon birth, to create a good understanding between the hostile races, and to bring the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans into friendly relations. He was in this respect in advance of his age, and his conduct stands in direct contrast to that of Stigand. Both were good and

⁴ Knyghton, col. 2366.

patriotic men. Both had concurred in the expediency of yielding to the force of circumstances, and of sending in their adhesion to the government of the Conqueror. But, when William was provoked to acts of tyranny, and ceased to adhere to the promises which, according to Matthew Paris,⁵ he originally made of observing the laws of King Edward, Stigand felt himself exonerated from his promise of allegiance, and joined the standard of revolt. Wulfstan, on the contrary, never wavered in his loyalty, and we trace a compact between the Bishop of Worcester and the Conqueror so early as the year 1067. William was crowned on Christmas-day, 1066, and in 1067 we find a grant to Wulfstan and his church of two hides of land at Cullaccliffe, on the condition that he and his clergy continue faithfully "to intercede for the benefit of the Conqueror's soul, and of those who assisted him when he obtained the lordship of the land."⁶

Wulfstan thought it so essential to the well-being of the country to support the government *de facto*, that he formed a league with seven Anglo-Saxon abbots, who, with the consent of their brethren, appointed Wulfstan as their leader, and bound themselves to yield obedience with heart and hand "to their worldly Lord William and the Lady Matilda."⁷

This desire to obliterate party feeling is observable even in little things. The Anglo-Saxon nobility were accustomed to let their hair and their beards grow, and to destroy the party distinction, orders were issued, according to Matthew Paris, that they should shave their beards and cut their hair after the Norman fashion."⁸ Now Wulfstan possessed an *unguicularium*, a small knife to pare his nails, we are told, and to scrape the dust off his books; and on more than one occasion, when he chanced to meet one of his countrymen who refused to obey, and appeared in flowing curls and a long beard, he would pull out his knife, and inflict summary punishment on the offender.

Although in the miserable year 1069 the Cathedral of

⁵ Matt. Paris, 1001. The story he tells of William's making an oath to this effect upon the relics of St. Alban is improbable, but it was possibly founded upon facts.

⁶ Heming. Chart. 413, 414.

⁷ Hickes' Thesaurus, ii. Dissert. Epist. pp. 19, 20. The date of this transaction is uncertain.

⁸ Matt. Paris, Vita Abbatis S. Albani.

Worcester shared the fate of other religious houses, yet this did not exasperate Wulfstan to deviate from the line of policy he had marked out for himself; for we find him present at the council which was convened by William in 1070 for the deposition of Stigand. Wulfstan acquiesced in the proceedings of that synod, over which presided his friend Hermenfrid, Bishop of Sion, and he did not utter a word in favor of the persecuted primate. His silence must be attributed, in part at least, to the fact of his having been entirely opposed to the political views of Stigand. It was not from want of courage, for Wulfstan presented himself before the synod prepared to defend his own and to make good his cause, when justice required it, against the king himself. He demanded restoration of "certain appurtenances to the see of Worcester," which Aldred had retained when he was translated to York, and which had now passed into the king's hands. He insisted that justice should be done to him, not only by those who presided at the council, but by William himself. The judgment given was a fair one, viz., that as the see of York was vacant, and as there was no one to defend its rights, the case must stand over. The see of York being filled by the appointment of Archbishop Thomas, the case was again heard, according to Florence of Worcester, who speaks enthusiastically on the subject, at a place called Pedreda, in the presence of the king, of Archbishop Lanfranc, the bishops, abbots, earls, and all the magnates of England. Judgment was given in favor of Wulfstan. At the same time the see of Worcester was declared to be in the province of Canterbury, and all the vills which Aldred had retained to the day of his death were restored.⁹

I have observed, in the Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, that there existed a good understanding between Wulfstan and the successor of Stigand, if not a cordial friendship. This assertion takes for granted that there is no foundation for the improbable legend, so often repeated, representing Lanfranc as determined to depose Wulfstan, and commanding him to deliver up his pastoral staff: and Wulfstan, after delivering a very poetical address to the

⁹ There are some conflicting accounts of this council, with which we are not here concerned, as appears from a short

notice, *Concilium Pedredæ*, Wilkins, I. 324.

bones of King Edward, driving his staff into the tombstone, where in the hard stone it was immediately embedded ; and Lanfranc then making an apology, requesting Wulfstan to take back his staff ; and Wulfstan then drawing the staff from the stone in which it had been embedded as easily as if the hard stone had been clay ; and Archbishop Lanfranc and King William falling down on their knees to beg Wulfstan's pardon. The legend concludes with representing the two bishops giving each to each a blessing and a kiss, and then walking away from the council hand-in-hand in the most loving manner. The legend rests on the authority of Ailred of Rievaulx, who did not live till the next century ; and, speaking of whose superstitious weakness, Mr. Wright says, that he generally prefers improbable legends to sober truth.¹

Discarding the legend, however, it still remains a question with some writers whether Lanfranc did or did not desire to effect the deposition of Wulfstan ; and certainly William of Malmesbury states, "*Sub seniore Willielmo inelamatum est Wulfstano a Lanfranco de literarum inscitia.*"

We know that Lanfranc, when he first arrived in England, was prejudiced against the Anglo-Saxon Church and clergy, and he may therefore at one time have spoken disrespectfully of Wulfstan, who certainly was not present at Lanfranc's consecration ; but it is certain that the two prelates soon came to a good understanding, and co-operated in all that related to the affairs both of Church and State. The confidence of the Archbishop in the Bishop of Worcester is evinced by the fact of his asking him to hold a visitation of the diocese of Chester, on the ground of its being inaccessible to the Normans. The idea of sending an Anglo-Saxon prelate into the midst of an Anglo-Saxon population would not have been entertained, unless the fullest confidence had been placed in the loyalty and discretion of Wulfstan.

On another occasion, when application was made by the Archbishop of York to the primate for the loan of two of his suffragans to assist at a consecration, one of the prelates selected by Lanfranc was Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester.

The two illustrious prelates, Lanfranc and Wulfstan, are

¹ It is repeated by later writers, such as Bromton and Knuyghton.

found acting together in their successful endeavours to suppress the slave trade. For this trade Bristol had long been infamous ; the traffic being chiefly carried on with Ireland. Hither degraded parents would send their children, and the seducer the mistress of whom he was wearied, for sale and exportation ; and the miseries consequent upon the accursed traffic ensued. Wulfstan himself attacked the stronghold of the enemy : he would go to Bristol and remain there for two or three months, remonstrating with the slave merchants and preaching on each Lord's day. But, though preaching and remonstrating would do something, he was aware that he could not succeed without obtaining external aid ; he therefore applied to Lanfranc to make interest with the king, that the strong arm of the law might give effect to the eloquence of the preacher. The slave trade was, in some manner, profitable to the king, who was, on that account, unwilling to interfere ; but he was at length persuaded by Lanfranc ; and such was the success of the movement, that not in Bristol only, but in all parts of the kingdom, the slave trade was put down.²

On the death of William, Wulfstan co-operated with the archbishop in carrying out the directions of the Conqueror with reference to the succession to the English crown. He assisted at the coronation of William Rufus, and soon after appeared in arms in defence of the Government.

Wulfstan did indeed appear more than once as a warrior, and in that character he had rendered essential service to the Conqueror. In the rebellion headed by Roger, Earl of Hereford, in 1074, Florence of Worcester informs us that "Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, with a strong body of troops, and Ethelwy, Abbot of Evesham, with his vassals, supported by Urso, sheriff of Worcestershire, and Walter de Lacy, with their own followers, and a general muster of the people, marched against the Earl of Hereford to prevent his fording the Severn." To Wulfstan's influence we may attribute the fact that in this campaign the English were fighting side by side with the Normans.

In 1088, Wulfstan must have been upwards of eighty years of age ; but the stout old man stood forth as the champion of William Rufus, when Roger de Montgomery

² Malmesbury, de Regum Gestis.

had taken up arms in favour of Robert, Duke of Normandy. He did not himself go into the battle, but he sent forth his retainers, and it was chiefly through his exertions that the city of Worcester was saved from destruction, and that the rebellion was suppressed. Some details are given both in the Saxon Chronicle and by Florence of Worcester.

During all this time Wulfstan had been engaged in husbanding his own resources and those of the church of Worcester for the great work which, from the days of Hardicanute, he had at heart—the rebuilding of his cathedral. In 1084 the work commenced. Preparatory to laying the foundations, the work of Oswald was to be removed. Wulfstan witnessed the demolition, and while all were rejoicing around him, he was heard by one of the chapter standing near him to heave a deep sigh: “Surely,” said the monk, “instead of regretting the past, you ought rather to rejoice at what is taking place, and that such things are done for the Church in your time, that buildings are now erected in a style of beauty and splendour unknown to our forefathers.” “Nay,” replied Wulfstan, “we are destroying the work of holy men, and think in our pride to improve upon it. In times past they were indeed unskilled to erect magnificent piles; but under whatever roof they might be assembled they knew how to offer themselves a willing sacrifice to God, and to draw their flocks after them. A miserable change it will be, if, instead of edifying souls, we be content with merely piling one stone upon another.”

The speech is characteristic. The heart of Wulfstan was with his Anglo-Saxon ancestors, whose virtues he admired and revered; but, when called upon to act, he thought only of what was practical, and availed himself of all the improvements of the existing generation. The poetry of his character endeared him to the Saxons, the Normans had entire confidence in his uprightness, and his practical common sense made him a counsellor to whose judgment all parties deferred. He wept over the wreck of Oswald’s cathedral—he laid the foundations of that upon which we still gaze with admiration. The cathedral was completed in 1088, in which year it was solemnly consecrated.

Like a wise man, Wulfstan provided for the endowment as well as the erection of his church. He endowed the church

of Worcester by a grant of fifteen hides of land in Alveston,—land which had formerly belonged to the see, but which had been seized by some powerful persons in the late disturbed times, from whom he repurchased it.³

Archdeacon Churton observes that there is a sermon in the Anglo-Saxon or Early English language which is thought to be Wulfstan's.⁴ To his pen we may certainly attribute the brief account which we possess of the proceedings of a synod which he held in 1092. Its title is "The Privilegium," that is, the enactment, or resolution, or determination,—"of St. Wulfstan concerning the church of St. Helen;" it is printed in the *Anglia Sacra*. It commences thus:—"I, Wulfstan, by the grace of God, Bishop of Worcester, determined to hold a synod in the minster of St. Mary's, in the crypt of the church, which I built from the foundations, and by the mercy of God afterwards consecrated. This synod was held in the year of our Lord 1092, the xvth indiction. There were assembled all the wisest men invited from the three shires in our diocese, Worcester, Gloucester, and Warwick, because that I, being full of days, sensible of my bodily weakness, and perceiving the end of my life approaching, was desirous of disposing canonically the ecclesiastical affairs committed to our charge, and by their wise concert, of correcting and amending whatever required amendment."

The principal thing which occupied the attention of the synod was a question between two presbyters, Alfnath, the presbyter of St. Helen's, and Alam, presbyter of St. Alban's, concerning their parishes and the customs of their churches. The debate lasted a considerable time, and was complicated by a claim to St. Helen's church put in by the prior and chapter.

The whole subject was thoroughly investigated, and at length completely settled. The document concludes thus: "I, Wulfstan, approving the testimony now adduced as true, have put an end to the controversy of the Presbyters and have corroborated the same with the testimony of this Holy Synod, and our hand and seal; cautiously providing that no dissension nor scandal shall hereafter arise out of these matters, in this holy mother Church, between the monks or

³ *Archaeological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 262.

⁴ *Early English Church*, p. 286.

any other persons whatsoever. To those who observe these decrees, may eternal life be granted in the heavens. May he who breaks them or changes them for the worse be damned with the devil and his angels in perpetual torment. Amen."

The learned author of *The Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle* attributes to Wulfstan all the entries between the years 1034 and 1079. He, first of all, establishes the fact that the manuscript was executed at Worcester; and then quotes certain passages which undoubtedly express the principles upon which Wulfstan uniformly and consistently acted.

The following remarkable description of William the Conqueror could hardly have been written by any one else, for we know of no other person who was in the position which the writer assumes for himself.

"If there be any one who wishes to know what sort of man he was, or what honor he had, or of how many lands he was lord, we write concerning him just what we found him, we, who have seen him, we who at one time lived in his court. The King William of whom we speak was a very wise man, and a very powerful; more honorable and far stronger than any of his ancestors. To those good men who loved God he was gentle; but beyond all measure stern to those men who opposed his own will. On that same site where God permitted him that he should win England, he erected a great minster, and placed therein monks, and well he endowed it. In his day was the great minster built at Canterbury, and also many others over all England. Also was this land exceedingly well filled with religious, who guided their lives according to the rule of St. Benedict. And such was the condition of Christendom in his day, that each man followed what belonged to his order, just as he himself pleased. He was also very dignified; each year he wore his crown thrice, as often as he was in England; on Easter he wore it at Winchester, on Whitsuntide at Westminster, on Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times there were with him all the powerful men from over all England, archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. So very severe a man was he, and so quickly provoked, that no one dared to do anything against his will. He had in his bonds earls who had acted against

his pleasure. Bishops he deposed from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbasies, and thanes he put in prison ; and at last he did not spare his own brother, who was called Odo. He was a very powerful bishop in Normandy ; his see was at Bayeux, and he was the foremost of all men to augment the power of the king. He had an earldom in England, and when the king was in Normandy, then was he the most powerful man in this land, and him William imprisoned.

“ Among other matters this must by no means be forgotten, the good peace that he made in this land ; so that a man of property might go by himself alone over his realm unhurt, having his bosom full of gold. No man dared to slay another, how great soever the evil which he had done to the other. He reigned over England, and so entirely did he understand it by his cunning policy, that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who owned it, or how much it was worth, and afterwards he put it down in his writing. The land of the Britons was in his power, and thereon he built castles, and entirely governed that nation. So also he subjugated Scotland by his great strength. The land of Normandy was his naturally, and he ruled over the earldom called Mans ; and if he might have lived two years longer, he would have won Ireland by his valour and without any weapons. Truly in his time men had much labour and very many sorrows. He caused castles to be built, and the poor men to be made to labour heavily. The king was so exceedingly stern, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, that he took by right and with great unright of his people, for little need. He was fallen into covetousness, and he loved greediness above all. He instituted a great protection for deer, and he established laws therewith, that whosoever slew hart or hind that he should be blinded. He forbid the harts and the boars also to be slain, so much he loved the tall deer as if he were their father. Also he commanded respecting the hares that they must free fare ; his rich men lamented it, and the miserable people murmured at it. But so firm was he that he cared nothing for the ill will of the whole of them, yet must they entirely follow the king's pleasure, if they wished to live or possess their land—land, or property, or have good quiet. Alas ! that any

man should be proud, and thus exalt himself, and boast above all men. May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins.

“These things have we written concerning him, as well the good as the evil, that what is good men may accept according to their goodness, and entirely forsake that which is evil, and walk in the way which leadeth us to the kingdom of heaven.”

In the Lent of 1094, Wulfstan, then in his eighty-seventh year, began to show symptoms of decay. His charities increased as his ability to discharge the other duties of his high office diminished. At Whitsuntide he became seriously ill. His only sister died about this time, and, feeling that his own hour was approaching, he summoned the friend whom I have already mentioned, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, who administered to him the consolations of religion. He lingered through the summer, still suffering from a low fever, till the year 1095. The new year found him confined to his bed, and on the 19th of January he passed from the church militant here on earth to the church triumphant.

I am not aware of there being in existence any modern account of Wulfstan, and I think, therefore, you will not regard this hour as misspent which has opened to us a page of ancient history, and has made us acquainted with a great and good man. He indeed was no ordinary person who, having conversed with Canute, had to officiate at the coronation of William Rufus; who, the friend and counsellor of the noble Harold, fought, nevertheless, in the service of the Norman; who never forfeited the confidence of his Anglo-Saxon brethren, and yet was regarded by the Conqueror as a friend; who yielded to the pressure of hard times, and yet was never accounted a time-server; who, a wise and cautious man of the world, still preserved a simplicity of character, respected equally by the profane and the godly; who, with a heart replete with poetic sentiment, was, nevertheless, a thoroughly practical man; who, the representative of a vanquished race, was caressed by their victors; a man to whose influence and example we may attribute the temper, if not the policy, which gradually induced his countrymen to tolerate their conquerors, until the Normans, like the Britons and the Danes, were absorbed

into the Anglo-Saxon race ; and out of the four commingled peoples has come forth the great English nation, with our noble language and our glorious constitution ; with our spirit of liberty united with our love of order ; with our zeal to promote the well-being of man and the glory of God.

SAXON BURIAL GROUND AT BASTON, LINCOLNSHIRE.

By the Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Probendary of Lincoln.

OWING to the exhibition of some fragments of ancient pottery in the Temporary Museum of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society at Bourn, last year, I was led to make further inquiries as to the spot whence those fragments were obtained, and I found that they came from the parish of Baston, situated between Stamford and Bourn. Having obtained the requisite permission from Lord Chesham, the owner of the land where I wished to excavate, at the invitation of his obliging tenant, Mr. Thomas Bland, in conjunction with the Rev. C. P. Worsley, the vicar of the adjoining parish of Thurlby, I was enabled to superintend an examination of the ground where portions of urns and other relics had already been found, and met with considerable success on the occasion.

This curious circumstance may deserve notice, that the grass-close to which my attention was directed is called "Tinker's Urn," which is probably a corrupted term that appears to point to the finding of an urn there in days of old, as it has long been so designated. This close lies on the west of the village of Baston, and a little to the east of a branch of the Ermin Street, here called "King Street."

After digging into the soil, where on more than one occasion pottery had been previously disturbed, several groups of urns were discovered beneath the thin surface loam, in the sandy subsoil, and at a depth varying from 6 to 16 inches below the level of the ground. Although a very ancient pasture field, dotted with a few aged elms, its ridged surface clearly points to its having been subjected to the action of the plough at some period; and a fact connected with the discovery about to be described appears to throw back the date of that ploughing to a surprisingly early time, *viz.*, that the

urns were found at an average depth of one foot beneath the tops of the lands, which indicates that this piece of land had been arable *before* it was used as a cemetery by some Saxon tribe, because it is obvious that, had these ridges been thrown up subsequent to the deposit of the urns within them, the urns would necessarily have been found at a lower level.

Ten urns, altogether, were the fruits of the excavation. These are all of the same usual dark grey tint, and of soft, ill-baked ware. They vary from $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 11 inches in diameter; but unfortunately most of them crumbled into small pieces as soon as they were exposed to the air. Some of the urns have the effective raised knobs often seen on Anglo-Saxon pottery: the others are ornamented with surface scorings only. The forms of these urns are unusually graceful, so that, although their material is coarse, and the patterns that adorn them have evidently been executed hastily, their outlines may be safely compared with those of Etruscan and Roman vases, especially in one of the specimens, which is of very superior fashion and workmanship. On another appears two bands of those little concentric circles that formed such a favorite device with the Saxons in the treatment of bone and metallic articles, as well as of pottery.

Each urn was, as usual, nearly filled with fragments of calcined bones, and these seem to have been deposited on a small layer of the finest sifted gravel of a perfectly evenly sized grain, first placed below them. Unfortunately, little else but bones was found in these urns, although the hope was entertained in some cases that a richer deposit might have been discovered, from the fact of some stones, three or four in number, having been placed around some of the urns for their protection; in no case, however, was any stone found above, nor any covering to prevent the earth from mingling with the bones within the vases. Two of the most remarkable specimens discovered are given in figs. 1 and 2. In both of these the contour of the neck is skilfully moulded, and the varied scorings on the upper portion of one of them is worthy of notice.

Two pairs of very small iron shears, or scissors, were found in the urns, also a minute fragment of a bone comb. One of the former is here figured (see woodcut, figure 3) the size of the original. On a previous occasion, a fibula, also here represented, was found in an urn on the same spot; it is of



Fig. 3.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 2.

Saxon Urns and Relics found at Baston, Lincolnshire.

brass, and in most perfect condition, the hinge and catch for the *acus*, on the reverse of this ornament, being still in good order, although the pin itself is lost. It is figured the same size as the original relic. (See woodcut, fig. 4.)

I have previously adverted to the discovery of *portions* of combs in Saxon funereal vases, and I feel convinced that it was customary with the Saxons of Lincolnshire to deposit these fragments with their dead, the remaining portions being probably kept as reminiscences of lost relatives by those who first gave the bodies of the deceased to the fire, and then gathered up the fragments of their bones, which they deposited in urns and confided to the earth in particular spots or cemeteries set apart for that purpose, such as those of Quarrington, Ancaster, South Willingham, and Searby.

THE PICTS'-HOUSES IN THE ORKNEYS.

By GEORGE PETRIE, Hon. Corresponding Member of the Archaeological Institute.

THE name Picts'-house, or Pights'-house, is indiscriminately applied in Orkney, as in other parts of Scotland, to all remains of buildings of great antiquity. This occasions much confusion in the accounts published from time to time of the discovery of such ruins, and renders it necessary to limit the appellation to a particular class. I have therefore been in the habit of applying it exclusively to the remarkable class of buildings which I now propose to describe.

These so-called Picts'-houses bear externally a close resemblance to the bowl-shaped barrows, with the only known exception of one of an elliptical figure in the Holm of Papa-Westrey, the largest of the class that has been discovered in Orkney. It is only when the covering of turf, which is common to both barrows and Picts'-houses, has been removed, that the difference between them is perceived, and the peculiar construction of the latter arrests attention. It is a stone structure, built wholly without mortar, and surrounded by a wall or facing about two feet high. An ordinary bowl-shaped barrow, with the edges cut away all around the base until a facing two feet high encircled the tumulus, would probably convey a tolerably correct idea of the original outline of a Picts'-house. Stones are found piled around the exterior wall or facing, but it is difficult to determine their true relation to the building. Probably they have either tumbled off the top or have been placed where they are now found long subsequent to the erection of the structure. In the case of the Picts'-house on Wideford-hill, near Kirkwall, opened by me in 1849, and described in Dr. Daniel Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," the passage from the chambers to the outside was apparently continued through the stones which lay around the encircling facing.

In the interior of the Picts'-houses are chambers or cells, constructed on the principle of the horizontal arch. Each successive layer of stones overlaps that immediately beneath it. By this arrangement, the walls converge till they approach each other so nearly at the top of the cell, that the opening can be spanned by stones a foot or two in length, and a few such set on edge, or laid across the opening, complete the roof of the cell.

There is invariably a central chamber, around which the smaller cells are arranged with more or less regularity. Each cell is connected with the central chamber by a low narrow passage, but they have no other communication with each other. To pass from one cell to another, the central chamber must be crossed.

These buildings are numerous in Orkney, and are generally in some prominent place, as the brow of a hill—the sea-side—an islet by the margin of a lake—or other similar locality. Human skeletons have been found in one or two of them, but it has generally been supposed that they had been deposited there long after the building had become ruinous. I found in the Picts'-house on Wideford-hill, which was in excellent preservation, great quantities of the bones of horse, ox, swine, and sheep. The bones of the larger animals lay lowest amongst the stones and earth with which the central chamber was more than half filled. I selected a jaw-bone from a quantity of bones which lay in a passage leading from the central chamber to one of the cells, and sent it to Mr. Stuart, the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, by whom it was submitted to the late Professor Quekett of London, who pronounced it to be a relic of the species *Bos longifrons*. The discovery of the remains of an animal which is believed to have become extinct in Britain about the time of the Roman invasion, shows the importance of preserving all animal remains which may be found in the aboriginal structures, and is at the same time an evidence of the antiquity of the buildings in which such remains are discovered. The bones were deposited in the mouths of the passages leading to the cells, as if the animals had been intended to be offerings to the deities, or to the manes of the departed. The accompanying plan and section of a Picts'-house in the Island of Eday, which was opened in 1857 by Robert J. Hebden, Esq., of Eday, and James

Farrer, Esq., M.P., will convey a general idea of those interesting structures.

The following are the measurements of the various chambers in this Picts'-house ;—

A. The central chamber, 6 ft 9 in. by 5 ft. ; height 10 ft.

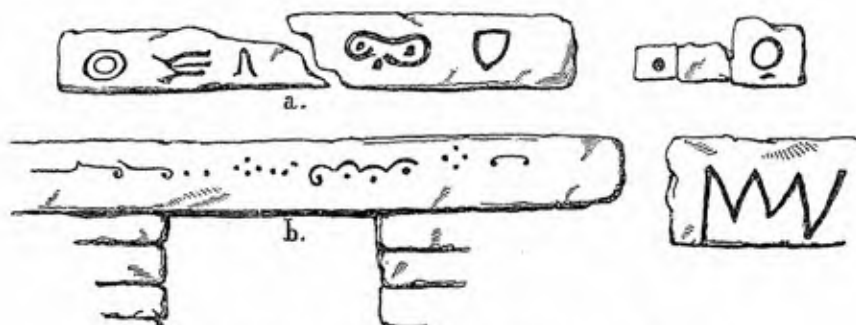
B. 5 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. ; height 5 ft. ; the length of the passage of approach to this chamber from the central one is about 3 ft. 6 in., its width about 1 ft. 9 in.

C. 5 ft. by 4 ft. ; height 6 ft. ; the width of the passage of approach, 1 ft. 3 in.

D. 4 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft.

E. 5 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft.

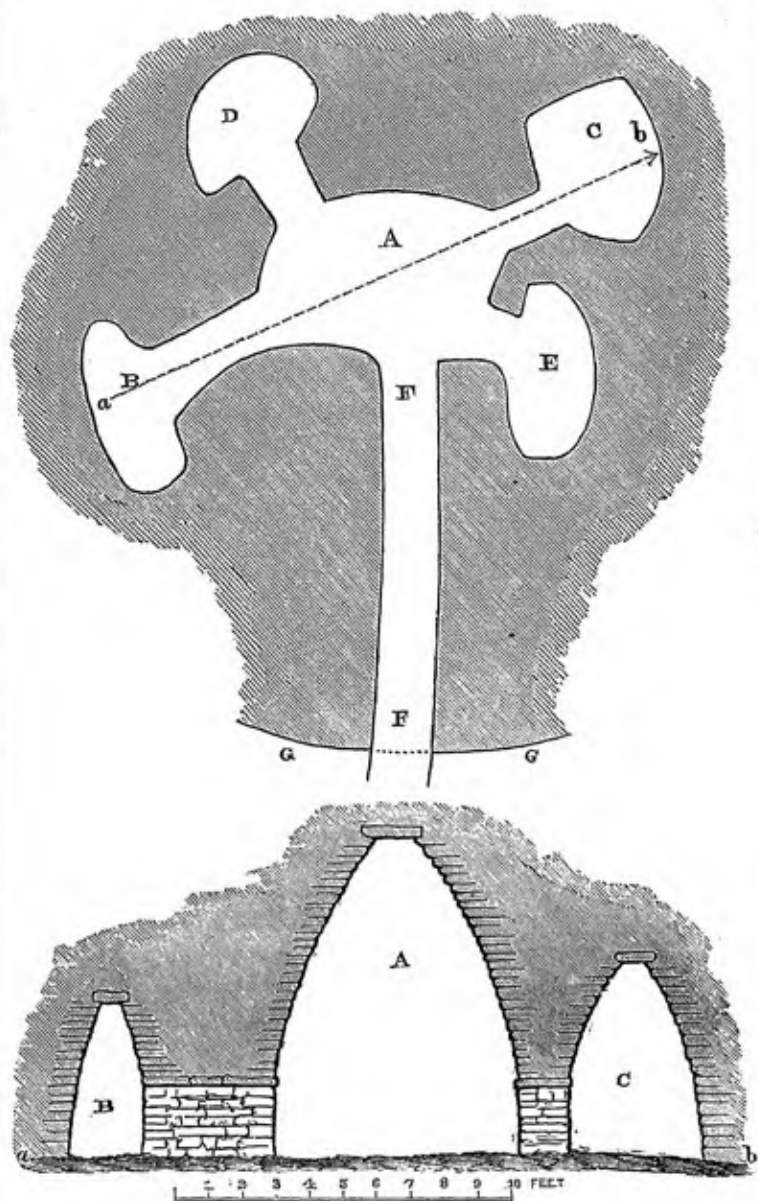
FF. Entrance passage, 12 ft. in length, 1 ft. 8 in. in width, 3 ft. in height. It was continued beyond the encircling wall, G G.



Incised markings on the walls of the Picts'-house, Holm of Papa-Westrey.
a. On the east side of the cells. b. Entrance to a cell.

Having repeatedly and carefully examined the large Picts'-house on the Holm of Papa-Westrey, which has been described by Captain Thomas, R.N., in the *Archæologia*,¹ I discovered numerous incised marks on the walls: some of them are here figured. The markings *a.* (see woodcuts) occur with some others, very obscure in character, on the east side of the large chamber; those represented in the woodcut *b.* are on the lintel over the entrance to one of the cells. These resemble incised figures in the chambered cairns at Newgrange and Dowth in Ireland, on the rocks in Scania, and in chambered tombs at Carnac in Brittany.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv., p. 127.



Ground-plan and section of a Picta'-house in the Island of Eday.

From measurements by James Farrer, Esq., M.P.



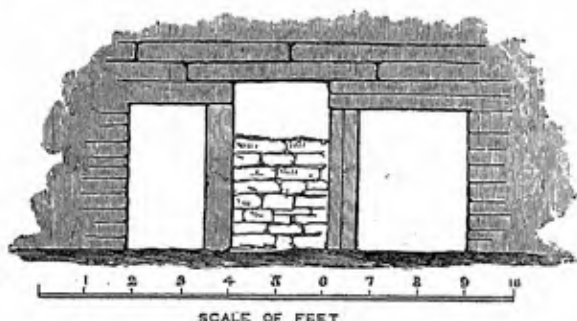
The discovery of similar figures on stones in a chambered cairn or barrow at Pickaquoy near Kirkwall, seems to point to a connection between such barrows and the Picts'-houses, if it does not prove that they are only varieties of the same class of structures; in short, that the so-called Picts'-houses are simply chambered tombs, which have been despoiled of their original contents at an early date.

The foregoing observations were written upwards of three years ago, when I had communications on this subject with Mr. Stuart, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and with other archæologists. Later discoveries, which I will now proceed to notice, have dispelled all doubts as to the original character of the so-called "Picts'-houses," and have verified the opinion which I had expressed concerning them.

In the beginning of July, 1861, Mr. Farrer sent a few of the labourers who had begun excavations in Maes-how in Stenness, to open a barrow at the edge of the very large ancient quarry near Bookan, in the adjoining parish of Sandwick, and not far from the large circle of standing stones of Brogar. The barrow was about 44 feet in diameter, and about 6 feet high, when opened; but it had been partially examined on some former occasion, and the upper part was consequently in a ruinous state. On cutting into the mound, a circular wall or facing, about a foot in height, similar to that which encircles the so-called Picts'-houses, was found, about 11 feet within the edge of the base of the barrow. A low passage, $6\frac{1}{4}$ feet in length, and 21 inches in width and height, extended from the outer surface of the wall on the south side of the barrow to a small chamber or kist, 7 feet 1 inch long and 4 feet wide, formed by large flagstones set on edge. At the north end of this was another kist, 4 feet 8 inches long, and 3 feet 1 inch wide. On the east side was a similar kist, 4 feet 8 inches long, and 2 feet 9 inches wide, and on the west side were two similar kists, each of which was the same length as the eastern kist, and both were 3 feet 1 inch wide. All the kists were about 2 feet 8 in. deep. A flint lance-head and some pieces of small clay vessels or urns lay at the north end of the central kist, but no bones were found in it. Remains of human skeletons, greatly decayed, lay in the surrounding kists. A glance was sufficient to show how nearly akin the Bookan barrow is to

the so-called Picts'-houses. It has, in common with them, the encircling wall or facing, the passage from the outside to the interior, and the central chamber or kist, surrounded by others—in fact, all the characteristics of a Picts'-house, with the exception of the converging walls, which alone were wanting to complete the resemblance. And this point of difference may partly be owing to the facility with which the flagstones that form the kists could be obtained from the neighbouring quarry, and possibly also to the social position of the person interred, whose rank may not have been deemed sufficient to call for the erection of a more elaborate structure.

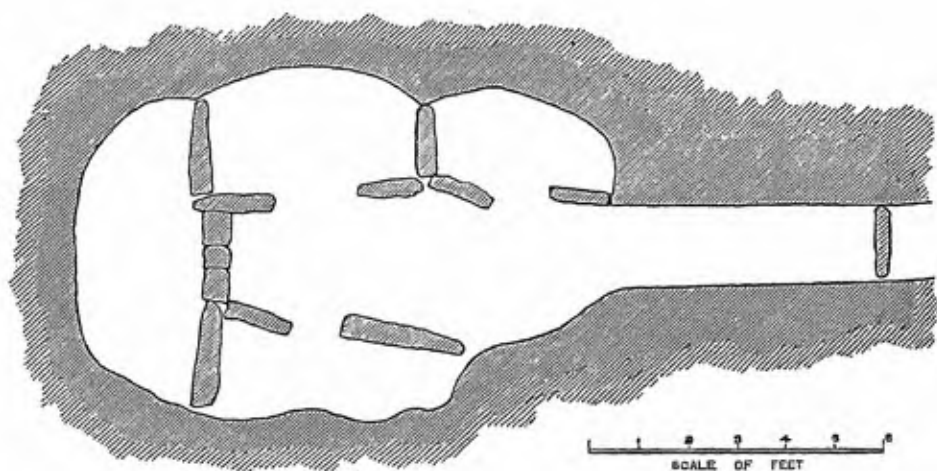
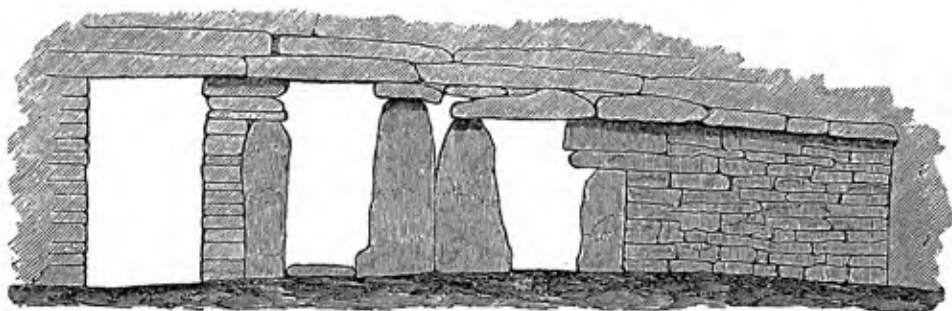
In the Calf of Eday, a small island, now uninhabited, there is what I consider another variety of the chambered tombs. It is wholly subterranean, situated in the face of a slope, and it consists of a central chamber with four surrounding cells, formed by upright flagstones, with the usual passage from the outside to the interior. (See the accompanying ground-plan and section.) Beneath the outer extremity of the passage or entrance, a drain was discovered, indicated in the plan, and was traced some distance down the hill-side. The plan will show how closely the building resembles in its internal arrangements, not only the Bookan



Transverse section of a chambered tomb, Calf of Eday.

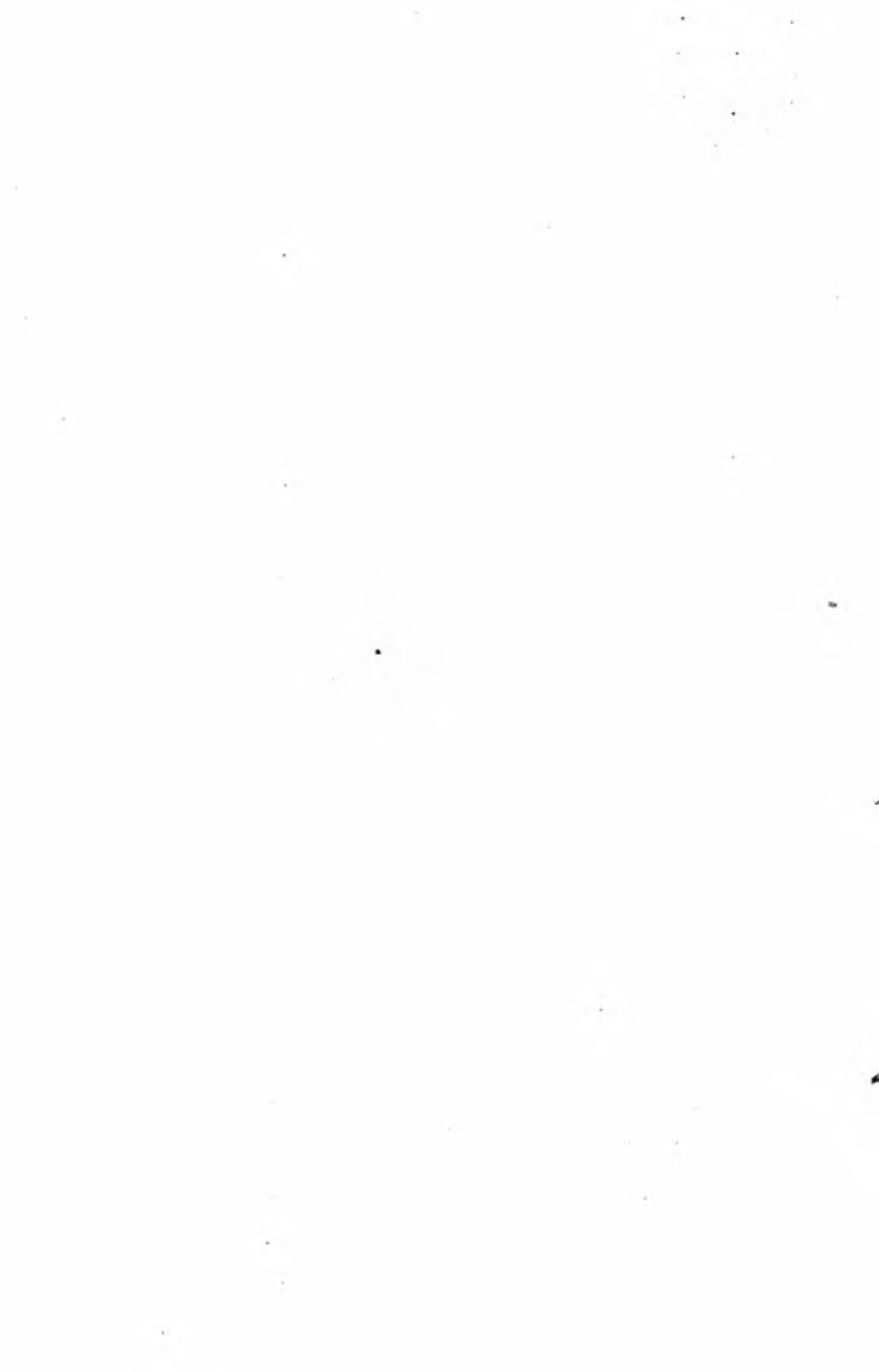
barrow, but also the so-called Picts'-houses. The same structural design evidently pervades the whole.

The interior measurement, from the extremity of the entrance passage, where the transverse drain above mentioned is indicated in the ground-plan, is 16 ft. 6 in. by about 6 ft.



Ground plan and longitudinal section of a Chambered Tomb in an Island called the Calf of Eday, Orkney.

Measured by George Petrie.



6 in. in width across the middle of the building. The width of the passage is 1 ft. 8 in. ; its height, 3 ft. ; the opening to the central cell, 2 ft. 4 in. ; the largest of the lateral cells measures about 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. ; the innermost cell measures 6 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., and in height 4 ft. 6 in. The central cell measures only 4 ft. in height.

Immediately after the examination of the Bookan barrow the large mound, familiarly known in Orkney as Maes-how, was opened by Mr. Farrer, on the suggestion of Mr. David Balfour, of Balfour and Trenabie, the proprietor of the estate on which Maes-how stands. While the excavations were in progress, I ventured to express an opinion that the building had originally been the chambered tomb of some celebrated warrior or chieftain, and subsequent examinations of the structure, and a comparison with other unquestionably sepulchral mounds, confirmed my first impressions, and left no doubt that Maes-how originally was as certainly a tomb as the Bookan barrow. Now, this point being settled, if it can also be shown that Maes-how belongs in reality to the class of so-called Picts'-houses, the true character of the latter will no longer be a mystery. This I think can be best done by referring to the ground-plan and elevation, from which it will be seen that Maes-how does possess all the usual characteristics of a Picts'-house.² It has, indeed, been built with more than ordinary care, and the cells are on a higher level than the floor of the central chamber, but in all other important respects the resemblance is complete. In short, it appears to me that Maes-how is identical with the so-called Picts'-houses, and therefore if the former was originally a chambered tomb, of which there seems to be no doubt, the latter may, without hesitation, be classified with the sepulchral buildings of the early colonists of Orkney.

² Compare the ground-plan and sections of Maes-how, in this Journal, vol. xviii., p. 355.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

By EDWARD W. GODWIN, F.S.A.

It is not my intention to give a detailed description, or to illustrate to any extent the many interesting features of the Church of the Abbey of St. Augustine, now the Cathedral of Bristol. Mr. Britton's work has already, to a great extent, supplied both the one and the other. My object is rather to regard the structure as the church of a large monastery, so that, while we dissect its various styles, we may at the same time investigate those scattered remnants which surround it and which partake more essentially of the conventual and domestic character. By proceeding in chronological order we shall endeavour to obtain an approximation to the authentic history of the whole.

As a matter of course we must expect to find traditions mixed up with the early history of the abbey; and, although we know the name of its founder and the date of its dedication, archæology is not fully satisfied unless we fairly estimate the traditional and documentary evidence concerning its origin.

Leland tells us of St. Augustine's Black Canons outside the walls, and of a chapel in the large area in which was buried St. Jordan, one of the disciples of St. Augustine.¹ Camden gives a similar account describing "the large area" as a "green plain shaded all along the middle with a double row of trees, among which is a pulpit of stone and a chapel wherein they say that Jordan, companion to St. Austin the English apostle, was buried."² Mention is also made of St. Jordan's Chapel in a roll in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, wherein the sacrist of the abbey accounts for money received from the *pyxis* of St. Clement adjacent to the

¹ "Ibique in magna area sacellum in quo sepultus est S. Jordanus, unus ex discipulis Augustini Anglorum Apostoli."

Leland, *Itin.* (vol. v. fol. 64.)
² (C. 600.)

chapel of St. Jordan "in the green place."³ As the entry was made so late as the year 1491-2, the edifice must have been standing in Wyrcestre's day, but, although he particularizes the "large area" or "green place," he nowhere alludes to either the chapel or the shrine. The tradition is that St. Augustine visited Bristol and preached upon the spot afterwards chosen by Fitzhardinge for the site of his abbey, and that he left Jordan, one of his disciples, to carry out the object of his visit.⁴ But, whatever may have been the motive for selecting this site, it is evident that Fitzhardinge could not have fixed upon a situation more agreeable or more suited to the purpose. It appears that he obtained this ground as part of the manor of Billeswick, which he purchased of Robert, Earl of Gloster.⁵

The Monastery of St. Augustine was founded in 1142, and was so far advanced in 1148 as to be ready for consecration.⁶ On the ides of April in the same year, six monks from the Monastery of Wigmore were inducted into the new building, and Richard, one of their number, was appointed abbot.⁷ In 1155 the king conferred upon Robert Fitzhardinge the forfeited estates of Roger de Berkeley, and by this means the founder of St. Augustine's was enabled to provide for the abbey to a much greater extent than at first contemplated, for, by a charter preserved at Berkeley Castle, he gives all the churches belonging to Berkeley, with the chapels and all their appurtenances, to the abbey. The deed is undated, but must have been executed in the reign of Henry II., mention being made of "dominus rex Henricus" and "Henrici regis avi sui."⁸ The date must therefore be between 1155 and 1170, in which latter year Fitzhardinge, then a canon of St. Augustine's, died. From these circumstances we may, I think, conclude that in 1142 the monastery was begun; that in 1148 the church was consecrated, and the domestic buildings sufficiently advanced for the accommodation of six monks, and that, on the accession of Henry II. (1155),

³ "Et de 22d. receptis de hujusmodi oblationibus provenientibus de pyxide Sci. Clementis juxta Capellam Sci. Jordani in viridi placea ibidem."

⁴ Seyer conjectures that Augustine's celebrated conference with the British bishops was held on the same spot.

⁵ Smythe.

⁶ Stowe, Godwyn.

⁷ Leland's Itin. vol. vi., p. 49:—

"A° 1148, 3 Idus Apr. die videlicet Paschæ, fundatio monaster' S. Augustini Bristol', et congregatio fratrum ejusdem per Dnm. Robertum filium Hardingi." Here *fundatio* must refer to the convent as a *society*, and not as a building.

⁸ Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 272: Monast. Angl. ed. Caley, vol. vi., p. 365.

Fitzhardinge was enabled, by the grant of the forfeited Berkeley estates, not only to increase its endowment, but to complete the building, and that, too, in a more elaborate style than was at first designed. The Norman remains are therefore, I conceive, of two different dates. To the earlier (1142—1148) belong the vestiges of the old church and the abbot's lodgings; to the later (1155—1170) may be referred the great gateway with its attached postern and the chapter-house. From this time, until the commencement of the fourteenth century, not a single document, so far as I am aware, occurs relative to the buildings and the alterations in progress during that period. Abbot Knowle was elected in 1306, and the earliest evidence we have of the works which he began is a document⁹ dated at London on the 11th of the kalends of July, 1311, which states that "*ecclesia ejusdem monasterii a piis ipsius fundatoribus antiquis temporibus ad cultum divinum opere sumptuoso constructa, dudum propter ipsius antiquitatem et debilitatem pro majori parte funditus diruta, in parte residua gravem minatur ruinam; ad cujus fabricæ restaurationem plures sumptus apposuerunt et ampliores apponere oportebit in opere ibidem noviter inchoato,*" &c. On account of this the Bishop of Worcester granted the church of Wotton.¹ Now the words of this deed inform us that the greater part of the church was utterly demolished, and that the remainder threatened to fall down; and immediately after this is an allusion to the great cost of the rebuilding of the church, which is also described as "the work newly begun," for the completion of which more money was required. There is no difficulty in perceiving that the *eastern portion* of the church was the "greater part which had been utterly demolished" (pulled down), and that the work newly begun was the rebuilding of the same. Abbot Newland distinctly states that Knowle "built the church which is now² standing *from the ground*, and laid the foundations of the king's hall and chamber, and the frater." This, however, appears to be a mistake. That Abbot Knowle *began* the church, and that it was proceeded with much in accordance with his design, there can be very little doubt, and we can readily believe that he began the domestic buildings above enumerated, for he seems

⁹ Lib. Alb. Wygorn., 6. f. 20.

¹ Confirmed by Pat. 5 Edward II.

² John Newland, compiler of the his-

tory of the monastery, was abbot 1481—1515.

throughout to have directed his attention more to the removal of old buildings, and the remodelling of the entire abbey, than to the completion of any particular part. Knowle died in 1332, and was succeeded by John Snow, who has been supposed to have considerably promoted the new works, from the fact of his having been the only person, with the exception of Fitzhardinge and his wife, and of Robert, Lord Berkeley, annually commemorated as a benefactor. It was during his government that the monastery was raised to the dignity of a mitred abbey. He died in 1341, and was succeeded by Ralph Ashe, in whose time the plague visited Bristol. In 1353 William Coke, the sub-prior, was elected abbot. In 1363 he resigned in favor of Henry Shellingford, or Blebery, and in the same year, Maurice de Berkeley obtained from Urban II. a papal bull granting forty days' indulgence to every person who should hear mass in the Church of St. Augustine, or say kneeling three Ave Marias, or should contribute towards the repair of the said church, the same "being then ruinous."³ Such a description as this could only apply to those portions erected by Fitzhardinge, and to which I shall presently allude.

In 1428—1473,⁴ Walter Newbury was abbot, and must have been engaged in building some portions of the monastery, for, in 1466, the convent obtained a lease of one of the Dundry quarries from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and it appears that John Ashfield was "master of the *new works*" from 1472 to about 1491.

William Hunt, the next abbot, governed from 1473 to 1481. During all this time Ashfield was "master mason." In 1475 the abbot advanced 101*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* In 1476 he paid 52*l.* 2*s.*, and this is the last debt to him which appears. In 1480 the prior and convent granted an obiit and mass to be celebrated to his memory "in a certain new chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary" at the east end of the church, because he had erected at his own cost many great houses and other buildings, "as well in divers manors" belonging to the monastery, as in the abbey itself, and had made anew the covering of the whole church, including the battlements and pinnacles, the timber, lead, and other necessities, and had granted to the monastery gifts and benefits of no small value.

³ Evidently "the remainder" which threatened to fall down in the time of

Abbot Knowle.

⁴ Reg. Wyg.

1481—1515, John Newland (alias Nail-heart) was abbot. In the first year of his government the convent had contracted a debt to him of 242*l.* 19*s.* 8½*d.*⁵ In 1491, Prior John Martyn was master of the works,⁶ and in the same year it appears that the choral service was performed in the Elder Lady Chapel, so that the presbytery must have been unfit for use. In 1492, stone was received from Dundry in large quantities. The accounts of the year specify "ragges" (for filling in the walls), as well as ashlar or freestone. In 1498 the accounts show an increase of expenditure, from which we may presume that further works were in progress.

The later ante-reformation alterations or additions have been ascribed to the Abbots, Eliot, Somerset, and Burton. Their works speak for themselves, and will form their portion of the chain of monumental evidence which I shall now proceed to examine.

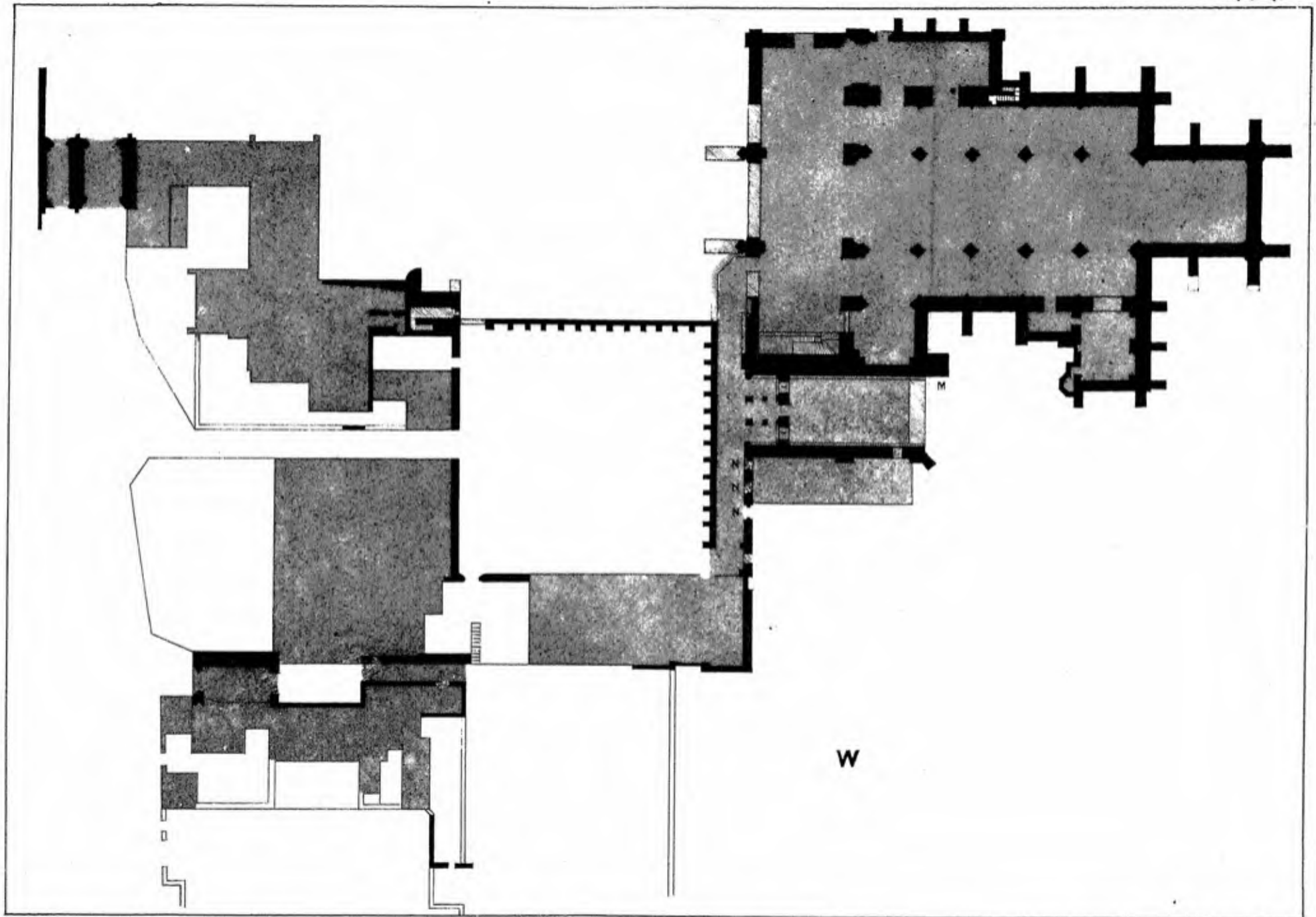
The remains of the monastery (plate 1) consist of the great gateway, with its postern, attached to which are some fragments of domestic buildings; the gateway, and other vestiges of the abbot's lodgings; the chapter house; a fragment of the fraternity, and other domestic buildings; portions of the upper and lower cloisters, and part of the church; the latter in its present state comprises only the central tower and transepts, two chapels east of the latter, the presbytery, with north and south aisles, a Lady Chapel in continuation of the presbytery, and a double chantry chapel, with a vestibule on the south side of the south aisle.⁷ I have already stated that Norman work of two different dates exists, for, although Fitzhardinge was in all probability the author of both, yet there is a marked difference between the architecture of the original foundation (1142—1148), as seen in the church, cloisters, and abbot's lodgings, and the semi-Norman or transitional character of the chapter-house and great gateway. It is the sparing and judicious economy of the "Provost" of Bristol contrasting with the lavish and almost extravagant richness of the later works of the Baron monk. The remains of the Norman church are by no means apparent to the ordinary observer. They consist of

⁵ From accounts in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.

⁶ "Magister novi operis."

⁷ I use these terms architecturally

and not according to any arrangements which the incomplete state of the church may have rendered necessary.



GROUND PLAN OF EXISTING BUILDINGS, OLD & MODERN.

Edmund Lubbock Esq. R. S. A.

a small staircase in the north aisle, a great portion of the walls of the south transept, the base of the walls in the north transept, and the lower part of the tower piers. These last, although transformed to something like the character of Perpendicular work, are constructively Norman, and it will be seen by the plan, fig. 1, plate 4, that it required but little alteration to reduce the Norman section to its present form, which I conceive to have been effected not by grafting in new work, but by the much easier process, in this case, of cutting away the old. The portions which I suppose to have been cut away are shown black in the figure, the lighter shade indicates Knowle's addition. It will be seen that on the sides A, A', a greater proportion of Norman work is shown as cut away than on the corresponding and opposite angles B, B'; the reason of this is explained by the old Norman walls of the transepts; the axis N, of these walls (and consequently, I suppose, of the old piers) not coinciding with the axis of the present pier R, which is further inwards, as shown by dotted lines; whilst the axes both of Knowle's respond, W, and the later molding on the Norman pier, S, neither coincide with one another, nor with the axis of the old pier, M, as also shown by the dotted lines. The diagram shows us that the object of this alteration was therefore not only to lighten the piers, but to widen the tower, so that its inner face might be brought more into line with Knowle's new and wider choir and the contemplated nave. This was done by cutting away from the side A, but then the respond B, A', must be made like the respond A, B', which has been cut away upon its *inner* face; but this other by a good mason would not be so treated, because the projection, A, must be made equal to B'. But B' is fixed by the old wall of the transept, which communicates with the aisle through the arch P; so therefore they cut the Norman pier away at A', and thus brought the internal measurement of the tower from 29 ft. 4 in. (W. Wyrcestre) to 30 ft. 8 in. from north to south, leaving its length from east to west very nearly what they found it, viz., 29 ft. The exterior of the south transept exhibits its earlier Norman character in a very decided manner. In its western wall may be seen a blocked up doorway, with its nook-shaft, and plain soffit, indicating the early work of the "Prepositor." This doorway, from its situation and Wyrcestre's notes, appears to have been a temporary entrance

to the first Norman church, which extended only as far westward as the present building.

When the Norman nave and its aisles were built, this entrance to the church would have been blocked-up, and a new doorway constructed in the usual position entering from the end of the east cloister into the south aisle. The flat pilaster buttresses at the angles of this transept; the set-off in the wall, indicating the level of the old parapet,—below this the jamb of a plain Norman window, and the plain gable window seen over the roof of the chapter-house, set in a rough wall still retaining marks of the steep pitch of the old roof, are of the same date. The Norman work of the north transept is confined to the coursed masonry below the Early English jambs of the great north window, and possibly the core of the buttresses; for the buttress above the Elder Lady Chapel exhibits a chase in the stone-work, showing the pitch of the Early English roof, which is further shown by a projection in the Early English buttress at the east end. Inside the south-west angle of the south transept, may be seen a Norman cushion-shaped corbel supporting the later capital of the Perpendicular vaulting. The Norman work of the staircase alluded to is disclosed only on the inside, where some corbel heads, of the roughest character, are to be seen. There are no *visible* vestiges of the Norman nave or its aisles *in situ*, except a portion of the foundation of the north wall lately exposed; but, some years ago, Mr. Pope, an architect resident at Bristol, in removing some old houses which had been erected on the site, discovered remains of the south wall of the south aisle, which, according to Mr. Pope, consisted of three or four bays;⁸ pierced by widely splayed windows of a plain Norman character, with vaulting shafts or piers between, arranged in pairs with distinct capitals under a continuous abacus. A rather mutilated specimen of these coupled capitals is in Mr. Pope's possession: the shafts must have been about 6 in. diameter, and the abacus about 18 in. long (plate 4, fig. 2). The position of the foundation of the north wall lately exposed to view at the west end of the north transept closely corresponds to Wyrcestre's measurements. In the course of making the excavation there were brought to light some Early English fragments of moldings and the

⁸ William de Wyrcestre's measurements would give *four* bays between the western "belfray" and central tower.

mailed arm of an effigy, together with a great number of molded stones, averaging 7 inches deep, and bearing the late Norman section shown in plate 4, fig. 3.

In Lower College-green there are many fragments of Norman character scattered about, and some Norman masonry at the north-west angle of the cloister, but there is nothing of the first period save the lower or abbot's entrance which in itself demands attention. If the sections of the two arches constituting this entrance be compared with the jambs of the chief gateway of the abbey, a decided change of character will be perceived (plate 5, figs. 4, 5, 6). This is more obvious on comparison of the works themselves, where we cannot fail to observe how much poorer the labours of the older hand appear when contrasted with the high finish of the freemason's handicraft.

It was in this part of the monastery that a dungeon, or place of torture, was discovered by the falling-in of a floor in 1744; it was situated under one of the apartments used by the bishop, and in it were discovered some bones and several iron instruments; the only apparent means of entrance or exit was by an arched passage just large enough to admit one person: an arrangement which reminds us of the "*lanterna*" of the Cluniac Priory of S. Pancras, Lewes, figured in the twelfth volume of the *Archaeological Journal*.

Before describing the features of the later Norman, it may be well to notice one or two peculiar circumstances connected with it. If we turn to page 289 of William de Wyrcestre, we shall there find the length of the chapter-house given as "56 gressus," or 29 feet longer than it now is, which would thus include three bays instead of two. The construction of the south-east angle, as seen at the time the present east wall was built, places beyond doubt the veracity of Wyrcestre's statement, which is further supported by the corbels in the buttress marked M, plate 1, evidently intended to carry the wood-work of the gutter. I have said that the great gateway belongs to the reign of Henry II., and owes its elaborate character indirectly to that monarch, through the grant of the Berkeley estates to Robert Fitzhardinge. Although, however, it presents a fair specimen of rich Norman work, and probably retains its original proportions and design, there are one

or two minor points of arrangement and detail which are scarcely what we should expect to find in Norman work, and which, combined with the exquisite "finish," indicate the reconstruction of this gateway as amongst the later ante-reformation works in progress. Thus the hood-moldings which surround all the arches are not only of Perpendicular section, but at the crown of the arch are mitred in to the confessedly Perpendicular string-course of the same section; whilst the jointing of the masonry in the south-western jamb is not continuous, but the outer order breaks joint with the other, and the courses are nearly double the usual height of Norman masonry; so that the so-called Norman gateway of College-green is no Norman gateway, but a Perpendicular restoration of the old work.

We have, I believe, discovered enough of Fitzhardinge's work to warrant the opinion that, notwithstanding the numerous superincumbent transformations that have occurred, the original ground-plan has formed the nucleus, and that a great part of the present cathedral is raised upon the foundations of the Norman church. I presume then, that the church, as finished by Fitzhardinge, contained a nave with north and south aisles, a central tower with north and south transepts, a presbytery with north and south aisles, and a via processionum. It does not appear quite clear, that there were ever any apses to the east ends of the transepts, because of the shortness of the cross-aisles and the stairs from the dormitory in the south transept, although there is room enough for a mere recess as at Shrewsbury and Buildwas. I will endeavour to trace the various alterations and additions which have from time to time been effected. As the space beneath the central tower always formed part of the "Choir of Monks" in Norman churches, it may be presumed that the arrangement or subdivision of the screens was like that existing at Winchester and Gloucester Cathedrals, and that the Architectural Choir consisted of the tower and two bays of the presbytery—leaving the eastern bay for a "via processionum." Scarcely, however, had the intentions of the founder been carried out, when we find a Lady Chapel was built east of the north transept, as at Canterbury, which since Knowle's time (when a new Lady Chapel was added at the east end of the church) has always been known as the "*Elder Lady Chapel*." From this I conclude that the

east end of the first church was square, otherwise the choir in the thirteenth century would be longer than the later choir of Abbot Knowle's work. This erection of a side Lady Chapel broke at once the simplicity of the old Norman arrangement. The absence of all documents forces us to have recourse to the moldings and other characteristic features, as guides in ascribing a date to this early addition. It will be seen on reference to plate 5, figs. 7 and 8, that the moldings are of the very boldest and earliest form of section, consisting of alternate rounds and hollows, with few intermediate fillets. The pillars, of Purbeck marble, are all detached, and the carved work in the capitals and in the spandrels of the arches is of the stiffest kind. In fact, the whole character of the north wall, a great part of the casing on the south side (I say a great part, because, as I think I shall be able to show, the two sides of the chapel were originally alike in all points of construction), and the arch-opening to the north transept, indicate a very early period of Gothic architecture, and may probably belong to the first ten years of the thirteenth century. An interesting fragment of the same character occurs built-up with *Decorated* work in the south aisle and forms the base of a monument. There are one or two features about this exquisite specimen of *Early English* work which should not remain unnoticed. The pinnacle at the north-east angle may be mentioned as a good example of a date anterior to the general adoption of these constructive beauties, and three of the triple lancet windows in the north wall present examples of that peculiar form which preceded the grouping of two or more lights under one arch, for here, although the double order occurs in the jambs, the mullions or dividing piers have only a simple chamfer corresponding with the inner order, and the outer chamfer of the jambs passes distinctly over each arch and thus appears to be *in suspensura* over the central one. It is rather singular that the fourth or easternmost is the plainest, having only the simple chamfer in the jambs, and I have, therefore, a doubt as to the originality of the jamb section in the others, for these might possibly have been reworked at a later period. The original roof of this chapel must have been of a very lofty pitch from the sinking which is still visible on the face of the east buttress of the transept, and the projecting weather-course against the west face of

the base of the Early English pinnacle at the north-east angle of the chapel.

The irregular connection with the transept yet remains to be explained. It will be seen, on referring to the plan, that the north wall of the transept is splayed in order to admit the pier of the *Early English* arch; this wall, then, we might naturally imagine to be of an earlier date, and consequently to belong to Fitzhardinge's work; this, however, is only partly the case, for there remains sufficient to show that the whole of the wall above the window cill has been rebuilt some time during the reign of Henry III., a great part of the buttresses and their base molding, the cill and string-course on the exterior, as well as the internal jamb, molding, and shafts of the great north window, being decidedly *Early English*, but of a more delicate and advanced character than that of the Elder Lady Chapel.⁹ The splay of the transept wall is stopped a little above the springing of the chapel arch by an Early English arch buttant, which thus provides a square angle for the groining of the transept. In short the very existence of this is alone sufficient to show that the *Norman* wall had been cut away to receive the pier of the *Early English* arch, and subsequently in great part rebuilt,¹ the splay being of necessity retained. While the north transept was rebuilding, other works, apart from the church, were in progress. The beautiful doorway in the south-west corner of the cloister (fig. 9), and some small fragments between the church and the great gateway, are evidently of the same time. Now, under whose government did these two distinct works proceed? The Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral was built by Bishop Godfrey de Lucy, between 1202 and 1204.² The Early English work at Lincoln dates from 1200 to 1220. Salisbury Cathedral was fit for service in 1225, and I think it can scarcely be objected that Bristol was behindhand in architectural progression, seeing the very high position it held at this time amongst the cities of England, and the favourable light in which all orders of

⁹ A few fragments of molding, belonging to this advanced or more highly developed Early English, have been dug up in the excavations made this year (1862) on the north and west sides of the church. The tracery was inserted in 1704.

¹ The masonry below the window cill is fine Norman coursed work, above the cill Early English rubble work, and the whole finished with late decorated coursed work.

² Willis Win. Cath. p. 37.

religion seemed to view her. Comparing these buildings, then, with the Elder Lady Chapel at Bristol, there is every reason to assume it to have been erected during the life of the third abbot, John, who governed the monastery from 1196 to 1215. The expense may possibly have been defrayed by Robert Berkeley,³ by whose munificence, Dugdale informs us, the possessions of the house had been much increased. The Early English work of the transept is so inconsiderable, and this, again, so mutilated and transformed, that we are left almost without a chance of ascertaining its date. It seems highly probable, however, that the rebuilder of the north transept was also the author of the domestic works of this period. William de Bradestan, who was abbot from 1234 to 1237, commenced the church of St. Augustine the Less, in 1235. Two years after this, at the visitation of the Bishop of Worcester, the character of the house was by no means of a high standard, for the prior and other officers were removed owing to the lax state of discipline that prevailed, upon which the abbot resigned. It will be scarcely necessary to show, from these circumstances, the improbability that de Bradestan was the author of the works in question. It remains, therefore, to decide whether they are anterior to 1234 or subsequent to 1237. By a comparison with other buildings, whose dates are proved, it may, I think, be concluded that the rebuilding of the transept and the other alterations alluded to were effected soon after the accession of Abbot Long, who governed from 1237 to 1264. Barrett says that this abbot was buried in the north transept, which, if true, adds a slight but peculiar weight to this conclusion.⁴ We have still to feel our way for a few more years, unassisted by any documentary evidence. The east wall and window of the Elder Lady Chapel, with its groined roof, the *benatura*, and the buttresses and parapet, are of pure Geometrical character, and evidently belong to the reign of Edward I. Singularly enough, too, the builders of that time were guilty of certain licence in their restorations, just as we sometimes are, for the whole of the Early English work above a certain level, which is clearly marked by the change of

³ He must have been about forty years old at the time (1205) to which I would refer the building of the chapel.

⁴ There is a much-worn sepulchral slab in this transept assigned by Barrett

to Abbot David (ob. 1234). The design consists of a head in high relief, and below this a floriated cross. The design is clearly late Early English, if not Decorated.

masonry, has been rebuilt. Now it appears that John de Marina governed, or rather *misgoverned*, the house from 1276 to 1286. For although the Bishop of Worcester, at his visitation in 1282, found all well, "tam in capite quam in membris," yet there was an exception which evinced the misgoverning spirit of the abbot; for the bishop observed that "the house was injured by his non-residence." There was, too, a debt of £300, with which the convent was burdened, and de Marina was given to splendid entertainments apart from the abbey, all which would doubtless prevent the monks from incurring further debts on account of their buildings. The bequest of the second Maurice, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1282, and the visit of the king, on the Christmas of the following year, with the presents then made by Edward and his retainers, more than compensated the monks for the losses they had sustained through the extravagance of their abbot; and the last three years (1283—1286) of de Marina's abbacy were spent in comparative quiet. To him or his successor, Hugh de Dodington (1287—1294), the roof and east window of the Elder Lady Chapel—a chapel east of the south transept—together with other fragments of Early Decorated, may fairly be ascribed.

It here becomes a question whether the idea of rebuilding the choir was not already in the mind of the thirteenth century builders; for, on looking carefully at the south side of the Elder Lady Chapel, we see that the whole of the first Early English work has been reconstructed. In order to bring in two arches of communication to the choir aisle, there has been a wholesale shifting of the last bay of the lower arcade eastward, the upper arcade corresponding to the windows on the opposite side has been cut short, and a string-course (fig. 10) of the same character as the vaulting ribs has been built in. In 1311 the church of Wotton was appropriated to St. Augustine's, to augment its revenues on account of the buildings then in progress. We may conclude from this that Abbot Knowle commenced the work soon after his election (1306). From this time, as I have before shown, to the dissolution in 1539, the builder seems to have been almost constantly employed upon it. The condition of the church at the accession of Abbot Knowle may be briefly described as Norman, with an Early English north chapel east of transept, which latter had also been in great part rebuilt

in the advanced Early English style, and an Early Decorated chapel east of the south transept. In a word, the opening of the fourteenth century found the mass of the building of the two styles, Norman and Early English, but with two phases of each style; for the building of 1148, that was "so far advanced as to be ready for consecration," was only the choir with its aisles and transepts; whereas the nave, with its aisles and western towers, was erected at the same transitional period as the chapter-house and great gateway; for, as I have before said, the vaulting shafts of the aisles were coupled under one abacus, and the capitals themselves bore evidence of a parentage akin to that of the great gateway and chapter-house. Here, then, was a building in every sense ripe (at least as far as the eastern half) for any experiments in the new style which the art-patron, Edmund Knowle, might choose to make, for I have little doubt that he contemplated no less an experiment than an entirely new church from east to west, using the Norman foundations, and even the walls above ground, wherever available: whatever may have been the actual extent of his work, that which now remains convinces me that it is but part of one bold continuous project, which, if carried out to the full length, would doubtless look full of design and originality, although, like many old and new works of the same class, by no means pleasing. In order to arrive at some conclusion as to the extent of this Decorated rebuilding, the new internal arrangements caused by it, and the general aspect of the monastery soon after, I must refer to William de Wyrcestre. His first reference to the abbey is at page 188, in Nasmith's edition: "*Sanctuarium locum Sancti Augustini ab oriente ubi introitus sanctuarii est in occidentem ad portam extremam ad intrandam curiam abbatis de officiis domorum, granariorum, pistorum, pandoxatorum, stablaorum (sic) pro dominis, etc., continet 360 gressus eundo juxta ecclesiam Sancti Augustini.*" At p. 233 we find the following measurements:—

"*Longitudo ecclesiæ navis fratrum^s Augustini continet 30 virgas vel 54 gressus [90 ft.]. Longitudo chori ecclesiæ fratrum Augustini, viz., chorus, continet 30 virgas. Latitudo ejus continet 9 virgas vel 16 gressus [27 ft. or (gressus of 20") 2'6—8"]. Longitudo chapter-hous 24 virgæ [72 ft.]. Latitudo ejus 8 virgæ [24 ft.]. Longitudo claustrī*

^s An evident mistake for *canonicorum*.

continent 30 virgas [90 ft.]. Latitudo ejus continent 3 virgas" [9 ft.].

At p. 242 is a distinct heading:—"Ecclesia canonicorum Sancti Augustini. Dominus Ricardus Newton Craddok miles, justiciarius de communi banco, obiit A. C. 1444, die Sanctæ Luciæ, 13 die Decembris. Capella Sanctæ Mariæ in longitudine continent 13 virgas [39 ft.]. Latitudo ejus continent 9 virgas et dimidium [28 ft. 6 in.]. Spacium sive via processionum a retro altaris principalis coram capellam Sanctæ Mariæ continent 5 virgas. Chori longitudo de le reredes (*sic*) principalis altaris usque ad finem chori continent 29 virgas, incipiendo a fine predicti spacii [87 ft.]. Latitudo tam navis chori quam duarum elarum chori continent 24 virgas⁶ [72 ft.]. Capella decens edificata in boriali⁷ parte elæ chori continent in longitudine . . . virgas."

Again, at page 289:—"Chorus ecclesiæ Sancti Augustini Bristoll continent in longitudine 64 gressus⁸ ultra capellam Beatæ Mariæ [at 16" = 85'—4"]. Latitudo navis chori cum duabus alis continent 50 gressus⁹ [at 16" 66'—8"]. Latitudo et longitudo quadratæ ex omni parte continent 22 gressus [at 16" = 29'—4"]. Longitudo de le frayter-hous 26 gressus [34'—8"]. Latitudo ejus continent 16 gressus [21'—4"]. Longitudo antiquæ ecclesiæ 80 gressus, belfray 2 [106'—8"]. Latitudo ejus continent 64 gressus [85'—4"]. Longitudo de le chapter hous continent 56 gressus [74'—8"]. Latitudo ejus continent 18 gressus" [24'—0"].

It is a satisfactory fact that the discrepancy between these measurements, when applied to the building in its present state, is of the most trivial character. I fear that Wyrcestre's Itinerary is not appreciated at its full value: his notes certainly require to be well digested, and, what is more, compared with the actual remains to which they refer. Thus the suggestions and doubtful comments made by Professor Willis and Mr. Freeman at the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Bristol, in 1851, might have been rendered decisive by a reference to Wyrcestre's notes at p. 242. The simpler character of the vaulting in the three eastern bays, and the additional moldings to the transverse vaulting-rib, which

⁶ The extreme internal width, including recesses.

⁷ The Early English chapel.

⁸ Taking the gressus at 16", this would

be the length between the screens.

⁹ The width between the bench tables, or on the floor.

separates the richer from the plainer work, are corroborative evidence, if any such were required. The simple fact, that no groove or other indication of an altar-screen or reredos was found on the inner faces of the eastern piers, is fully explained by Wyrcestre's measurements, which fix the reredos a little eastward of the piers, so that the altar would stand immediately under the arch. The western screen, according to the same authority, stood in the same relation to the western bay of the choir as the reredos did to the eastern. Reducing Wyrcestre's notes to measurements of feet and inches, we have (p. 233) a nave 90 feet long, or (as at p. 289) 106'—8" by 85'—4"; for I take it for granted that the "*antiqua ecclesia*" means the Norman nave. The difference in these two lengths is 16'—8", which would be about the width of the Norman aisles, and would therefore be the square of the western "belfrays," supposing these to occupy the last bay of the aisles. The width 85'—4" is evidently taken outside the walls, including buttresses and everything, as the jambs of the west windows in the transepts show, as also the termination to the string-course and base-mold, but, better still, the newly exposed foundation wall. It is to be observed that the north transept window is placed out of the centre of the vaulting compartment: the result is an awkward crippling of the main vaulting ribs. On going outside the reason is at once evident, the window having been pushed out of the way of the aisle wall.

The length of the choir is the next measurement, which is given (in p. 233) as 90 feet, (in p. 242) as 87 feet, and (p. 289) as 85'—4", the last dimension being in paces, and the others in yards. Now, if the screens are taken into the account, and the probability of the reredos being sufficiently thick to allow for niches, and the western screen possibly arcaded, or also enriched with niches, there will be no difficulty in reconciling all three dimensions. The width of the choir occurs only once (p. 233), viz., 27 feet; but the Lady Chapel is given as 28½ feet; the Lady Chapel is really 30'—9" between the walls. The lesser dimension of Wyrcestre is probably obtained by measuring on the ground between the bases of the piers, a method which he not unfrequently adopts.¹ The length of the Lady Chapel he

¹ It is just possible that the side screens were within the pillars, and that

Wyrcestre measured the width of choir from screen to screen.

gives as 39 feet, and between this and the reredos occurs a space of 15 feet for the "via processionum." The whole width of choir and aisles he makes 72 feet (p. 242), measuring by the yard; and again he gives it (p. 289) as 66'—8" by the gressus or pace; which latter corresponds exactly with the measurement on the floor, and consequently between the bench tables. The chapter-house by the yard measures 72'×24' (p. 233), but by the pace 64'—8"×24'; this increases the chapter-house by one bay further east than at present, which, as I have before said, was further borne out by the groining at this end at the time of restoration. The divisions of the groining enable us to decide upon the shorter dimensions, as the length of the chapter-house *per se*, and the additional 7'—4" might be regarded as an eastern recess or apse for the abbot's throne, or, more likely still, as including the total length "extra muri." The exact dimensions very closely correspond to Wyrcestre's figures: the width is 24 feet between the bench tables on the floor, or between the vaulting shafts. The cloisters he gives as 90'×9'; the refectory, or "frayter-hous," as he calls it, is unfortunately the only other portion of the abbey which he measures, and he makes it 34'—8"×21'—4", a size which would seem to refer this building to the Norman, or at least the Early English period. There is a fine Early English doorway on the south side of the cloister square, the usual position of the refectory; and, if the "frayter-hous" was connected with it and carried out in the same spirit, it must have been a beautiful little building.

To return to Abbot Knowle's work. It is evident that in Wyrcestre's time (A.D. 1480) there existed a Norman nave with aisles, and, as the central tower and transept-roofs are now Perpendicular, it is fair to assume that Knowle's work did not extend much beyond the remodelling of the eastern part of the choir, with its two aisles and Lady Chapel. The evidence of the painted glass² shows that Knowle must have completed thus much of his projected plan.³ The double chantry chapel⁴ at the south-east, and the Newton Chapel

² Trans. Arch. Inst., Bristol, vol. p. 151.

³ Of works apart from the church, the only remembrance of Abbot Knowle that I know of is a small doorway on the

west side of the upper cloister, and the upper part of the ruin close to, probably a fragment of, the King's hall.

⁴ By a deed dated April 25, 1348,

at the south-west, though raised upon the older Decorated building to assimilate with Knowle's work, are both apparently of the same age, and are very late in the Decorated style: the former bordering very close upon the flamboyant, and the latter returning to somewhat of the form of the geometrical, but with unmistakable signs of the approach of the last great Gothic change which occurred about the middle of the fourteenth century. These I should refer to Knowle's successor, Abbot Snow (1332—1341), to whom I should also attribute the Decorated work of the transepts and the western bay of the south choir aisle; for the section of the window-arch and the tracery of the transoms have enough change in detail to prove the difference of date, although the windows generally are copies of Knowle's work. It is possible that Knowle may have begun the north transept; his string-course, vaulting shafts, and trefoiled abaci are continued here, although not in the south transept; this may, however, be the work of his successor in continuation of the new design, in fact, under the same master builder. The western bay of the south choir aisle is still more unlike Knowle's work. The vaulting shaft is not detached, as are the others, nor is the string continued; the vaulting is different from the rest, being nothing more than a plain pointed barrel vault running across the aisle, upon which the ribs are placed, being merely imitative, to match the other bays, where they really serve a practical object, and strengthen the longitudinal intersections which give such lightness to these aisles. The moldings, too, of these ribs are more clumsy than in the other compartments, and the whole bay looks bungled. It is indeed surprising what awkward arrangements the mediæval builders would sometimes indulge in rather than take down old work; nothing could better illustrate this than the arches communicating between Knowle's aisles and the transepts. On the south the arch is of the same Late Decorated style as the western bay of the aisle. Now, as the Norman respond has been cut back to the line of wall,

Thomas de Berkeley founded a perpetual chantry in the abbey for his soul and the soul of Margaret his wife, who died in 1337, and whose death might therefore have given occasion for this chapel. The doorway from the choir

aisle to the vestibule of this chapel exhibits in its inner arch (pointed) a sectional form exactly identical in dimension and contour with the Norman fragments discovered in the excavations lately made, and represented in pl. 4, fig. 3.

it follows that, in order to get the wall-arch in line with the vaulting-arches or ribs, the respond on the other side against the tower-pier should have been equally cut back; this, however, would have weakened the pier too much, and so, in order to keep the arch in line, it was corbelled out on one side in the manner as we now see it. In the north aisle the arch is later in style, feebly molded, and the difficulty is obviated in precisely the same mean and feeble way that we might expect from the moldings, by crippling the arch so as to make its point coincide with the centre of the aisle, and, consequently, out of its own. We have now arrived at the middle of the fourteenth century, at which time it appears that there were fourteen monks, besides the abbot, prior, and sub-prior, or nearly three times the number of the original foundation. It is not likely, therefore, that the monastery would be long content with the old Norman nave and towers; indeed, as early as 1360 the 4th, Maurice, Lord Berkeley procured a bull to obtain benefactions towards rebuilding the church. Internal disorder, however, seems to have kept the work of rebuilding in abeyance, for it is not until the Perpendicular style had become established that we meet with any further alterations of the Norman structure, and even up to Wyrcestre's time the old nave (*"antiqua ecclesia"*) was still standing. Abbot Hunt⁵ (1473—1481) appears to have been diligent upon the fabric; he recast the lead on the roofs eastward of the tower, and made other considerable repairs. To Newland, or Nailheart, as he was called, the abbot who succeeded him (1481—1515), we may with confidence attribute the rebuilding of the central tower upon the Norman piers, the remodeling of these piers, and the first constructional interferences with the old nave by removing the eastern bays and commencing the work of rebuilding by building the abutting arches to the new tower. In the year 1491 the choral service was performed in the Elder Lady Chapel; the rebuilding of the tower and the consequent interference with the choir would be a reasonable cause for this removal; besides, I can scarcely

⁵ Although there appears a lease of Dundry quarries in 1466, and a "master of the new works" (John Ashfield) from 1472 to 1491, it by no means follows that the new works were altogether con-

fined to the church, for Abbot Hunt is especially commended for his attention to the domestic buildings, and the barns, houses, and other "costly buildings" in the manors belonging to the monastery.

imagine that Wyrcestre, who is so particular in noting new works, would have passed by the tower and reconstruction of the nave without remarking these parts of the fabric. Nor is the sectional form of molding any evidence in this instance of an earlier date, as from Knowle's time to the end of the fifteenth century the change was not so very great in this particular. Upon the completion of the tower the abbot seems to have directed his attention to the north transept. The groined roof,⁶ a four-light window in the east wall of the transept over the Elder Lady Chapel, and new arches opening from transepts to the nave aisles, and to the north choir aisle already mentioned, with new screens for the choir and reredos for north aisle, besides sundry works about the abbot's lodgings, are all the work of this abbot.

In 1492 stone was obtained from Dundry, and the accounts of that time describe both freestone and ragges, and carriage of the same to the "porch of the old church,"⁷ showing that the Norman work westward was as yet untouched. Newland died in 1515, before he had accomplished a tithe of that which he had evidently intended. The transepts were left in an unfinished state, and only so much of the Norman nave had been taken down as would allow for the new abutting arches to the tower. Abbot Elliot (1515—1526), recognising the importance of his predecessor's work, carried on the rebuilding so far as his short reign allowed him. Amongst his works I should cite the vaulting of the south transept, which springs at a higher level than any of the rest. His statue, in conjunction with that of Newland, occurs* in the upper part of the great gateway, which I presume to have been rebuilt from the ground by Elliot.

We come now to a question which materially affects the discussion as to the destruction or removal of the nave. It will be remembered that Wyrcestre gives the length of the cloister as 90 feet (30 virgas). Now, if that dimension were taken in the eastern walk against the chapter-house it would closely correspond with the present structure, supposing the wall of the nave to be *in situ*. The old cloister,

⁶ In this roof are bosses carved with various subjects: the instruments of the passion occur amongst them, also a heart pierced with two swords, sometimes

ignorantly supposed to be Nailheart's *rebus*.

⁷ This I have taken in my plans to mean a western porch or galilee.

which Wyrcestre measured, would have therefore consisted either of three sides inclosing a square garth, the most likely arrangement, or its northern walk would have been 9 or 10 feet in advance, or south, of the Perpendicular cloister erected after Wyrcestre's time. In either case, whoever built the present cloister must have erected the north walk partly upon the foundations of the old Norman nave, which, consequently, must have been taken down before the reconstruction of the cloister. Now the north walk, although blocked up internally, is, as regards its elevation, comparatively perfect, and shows by the character of the masonry at the west end, that the whole cloister was rebuilt (or in process of rebuilding) at one and the same time. It is clear that this act concerning the cloisters indicates either that the nave and aisles were to be entirely given up, or that the new works should only embrace a new nave with remarkably narrow aisles, or with the side wall built partly on the thin cloister wall and partly overhanging the cloisters, perhaps on arches. Either of the latter courses appears more consistent with the monastic character of the time, than the permanent reduction of the church to the one-sided sectional character it now presents; for, looking at the design of the eastern portion, where the aisles and choir are equal in height, and where the only features of architectural importance externally are the loftiness and boldness of the windows, it is by no means improbable that the later rulers of the abbey should have conceived the idea of departing from the old plan devised by Abbot Knowle, although it had been adopted and partly carried out by Newlaïfd. The question is, who was the builder? Elliot we know to have done much in his time, refitting the choir and rebuilding in an elaborate manner the great gateway.

The small or lower cloister, which divided the abbot's lodgings from the infirmary, must have been re-erected about the same time, the fragments which remain corresponding with the upper cloister; and I have little doubt that all these works are attributable to the Abbot Elliot; that he removed the nave and aisles to make way for his new plan; that he moved the choir eastward into Knowle's Lady Chapel as a temporary arrangement; that in doing so he found it necessary to renew the stalls and wood-work; that he rebuilt the two cloisters in a more elaborate style;

and that he intended to finish his work by the addition of a still more elaborate nave. Had not death cut short his reign, and dissolution so soon overtaken the house,⁸ his successor would naturally endeavour to complete and render serviceable that portion of the church, viz., the eastern arm and transepts, which he had transformed. Thus, Abbot Burton added his crest with his initials to Knowle's Lady Chapel reredos, to render it doubtless a little more ornate, since it was to serve as the reredos of the high altar.

Of the works executed since the Dissolution the substitution of an organ-screen for the rood-loft and old screen was perhaps the greatest. The wretchedly-debased windows of the east cloister, and the west and great north windows, remain as witnesses of the architectural spirit of that time. Taking leave of the church for the present, I shall proceed to examine the monastic buildings.

The Bishop's Palace was built south of the choir on the site marked W. on the plan. (Plate 1.) This was evidently the site of the Infirmary, called in Mr. Bindon's map in the Bristol volume of the Institute's Transactions, "the abbot's lodging and chapel," which being on the lower part of the hill was sheltered by the abbey church. Fragments of the infirmary chapel may possibly be found in the ruins of the palace, although I regret to say I have not been successful in discovering any. The lower cloister communicated with the upper or the west side, through the beautiful Early English archway still standing; and, as there is a passage-like room east of the refectory, in continuation of the upper eastern cloister, it is not unlikely that there existed at one time a communication on this side also. The abbot's lodgings were either on the west or south side of this lower cloister, and doubtless, like the chief apartments of most early domestic buildings, on an upper floor level with the principal or upper cloister, which is about 10 ft. above the lower level. The king's hall, chamber and frater (or guest-house?), would, according to Newland, be in Knowle's style, and, as is usual, near the great gateway, the ground immediately

⁸ The fact of two sides of the cloister, though so late, having been destroyed, seems to argue an unfinished state. Such

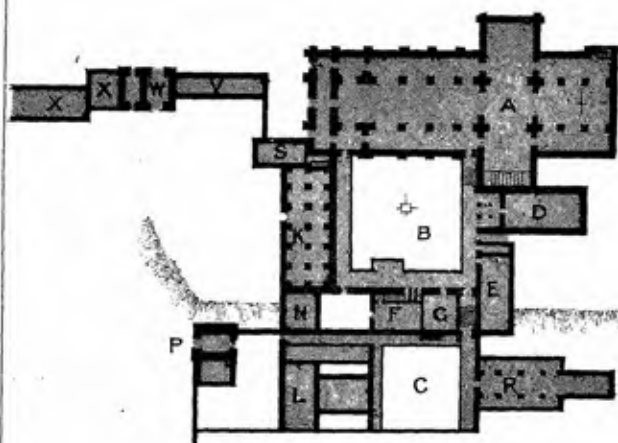
a state, indeed, as that in which Elliot left most of his work.

adjoining the great gateway, and for some considerable distance around it, being occupied by the "officiis domorum, granariorum, pistorum, pandoxatorum, stablaorum (*sic*) pro dominis," &c. Ascending to the upper cloister, the most important feature is the chapter-house. I have already alluded to this as a specimen of rich late Norman, and shown, by William de Wyrcestre, its original ground plan: but there is a point in the construction which exhibits such a decided irregularity, and such a wilful departure from that great principle of Norman construction, which ever comprehended the true function of the pier, and dignified it accordingly, that I am inclined to refer the building of the chapter-house to two periods. It will be seen on looking at the building, or by the engravings in Britton's work, that the *lower* arcade of the chapter-house is continued along the walls of the vestibule, and is of a markedly plain character, identical with the eleventh century arcade in the same position at Worcester Cathedral. The distinction, however, between this kind of arcade and all the other Norman arcades, both here and elsewhere, is not altogether one of date, inasmuch as the former is not constructional in any way, but might have been worked after the plain coursed wall had been erected, and was probably so worked; whereas the lower arcades inside the great gateway, as indeed nearly all arcades in richer and later Norman, are constructional, and built in with the walls as they proceeded. The springing-line or impost of the vaulting-ribs and main arches is neither level with the impost nor with the crown of the arcade, but most awkwardly placed midway between the two. Then the arcade is continuous, no space being left or provision made for a vaulting shaft (as shown in Britton's view), or even for a corbel like that in the great gateway; but the capitals are let in, so that what at first sight appears to be a rude wall-shaft is nothing more than the vertical molding of the plain and (as I take it) earlier arcade, of which the capitals of the later work have taken possession. Moreover, the quoins or angles of the vestibule towards the cloisters are built up with but a small bond into the wall masonry; the result has been that the ordinary settlement of new work taking place, the quoins have given way and separated from the main wall, showing a very decided joint the whole height of the arcade; so

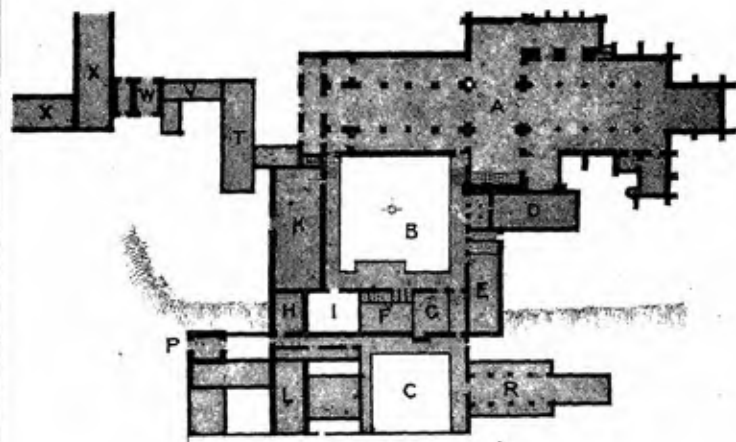
that there can be no doubt that Fitzharding, as *prepositor*, began his chapter-house in the same inexpensive style as the eastern part of the church, and that seven years afterwards he completed it in the rich and elaborate Norman we now see. Before leaving the cloisters, it is interesting to notice the change which seven years and the estates of Berkeley could effect on the architecture of that time in the doorways or arches marked N. on the plan (plate 1). The jambs are square, with plain semi-cylindrical shafts attached, and the arches are of two plain orders, whilst in the vestibule and chapter-house the shafts are almost as thickly clustered as in Early English work, and the arches are not only molded, but in some instances pointed. I have said that the cloisters are the work of Abbot Elliot, but there is abundant evidence to show that there have been designs for at least three cloister roofs, besides the present one, there being three series of corbel-heads at different levels; the lowest and at the same time the earliest is seen in two huge angle-corbels, which evidently supported a vaulted roof, probably of the latter part of the thirteenth century; the other two series are well represented, the lowermost of them being apparently of Knowle's time, and the upper belonging to the last rebuilder, Elliot. The present roof is comparatively modern. At the north-west angle of the cloisters, within an area of about 20 ft. square, occurs one of those most interesting fragments which may be occasionally met with in abbey ruins, that seem to exist for no other purpose than to exhibit to us the peculiar language of the architectural history and the conservative character of mediæval builders. Attached to the west side of the cloister, and running westward, with its north wall in an exact line with the south wall of the church, is a narrow building of two stories, exhibiting in the wall (which is in line with that of the church) well-defined Norman coursed work; in its west wall, a blocked-up semicircular-headed Early English doorway, which was once entered from the west cloister, and a blocked two-light window of the same style over it and above the Norman work, and inserted into it, broken but most decided relics of Knowle's style, which indicate that either this abbot or his successor began to rebuild the nave at the western end, commencing the work by cutting into the Norman domestic buildings (possibly the prior's lodgings),

westward of the old church, so as to increase the length of the nave by one bay. These fourteenth century portions consist of a triple angle vaulting shaft, a set-off for the triforium passage, a doorway and staircase to the same, a returned and re-entering angle of the passage, and a fragment of molded window-jamb. The junction of the Norman masonry and decorated vaulting shaft is so decided that I have shown it in plate 5, fig. 11. In plate 2 I have given two plans: the upper plan showing the whole monastery as I suppose it to have been finished by Fitzhardinge; the other, as I suppose William of Wyrcestre to have seen it. In plate 3 is a series of plans illustrating the successive changes which have been made in the ground-plan and internal arrangement of the church only. In the first the plans have been derived from existing old walls, from Wyrcestre's measurements, and from a general study of monastic plans, as well as from the modern buildings on the ground, which it is not unfair to assume have been erected on old foundations wherever possible. One of the most important features, considering the small size of the abbey, is the second or lower cloister.⁹ To all monasteries of any extent this second cloister is always an expected annex to the centre or common court for the infirmary, abbot's lodgings, and cemetery; thus, at Peterborough, Gloucester, Westminster, and Canterbury, we can still trace it with the infirmary placed much the same as I have placed it here, except that at Gloucester and Canterbury everything is north of the church. At Westminster the little cloister court measures 70' + 60'; at Gloucester, about 50 ft. square; here it would seem to have been even larger, probably 75 ft. square, and I have no doubt was intended to be in almost every respect a repetition of the upper cloister.⁹ The difference in the size of the churches makes this second cloister more striking, and shows the manner of man Abbot Elliot was. Bristol at its greatest never exceeded 300 ft. in length, while Gloucester is over 400 feet, Peterborough is 470, Westminster 520, and Canterbury a few feet longer. The arrangement of our small abbey was then in every important feature as complete as that of the most noble monasteries of the Middle Ages. It seems strange, at first sight, that it should be so, when we remember that the number on

⁹ A second cloister-court, nearly as large as the principal cloister, may be seen at Haughmond Abbey, Salop.



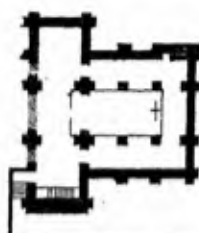
SUPPOSED PLAN OF THE NORMAN ABBEY.



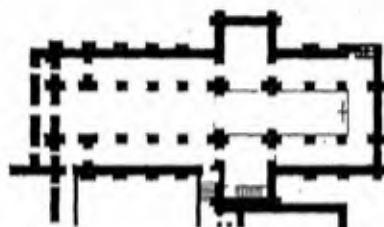
PLAN OF THE ABBEY TAKEN FROM EXISTING BUILDINGS & W^m DE WYRCESTRE.



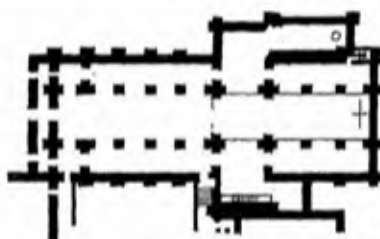
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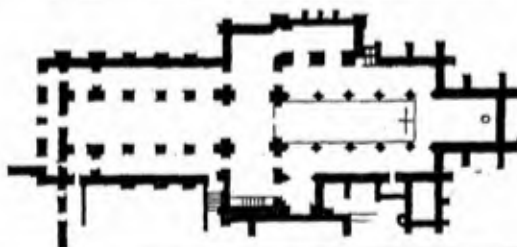
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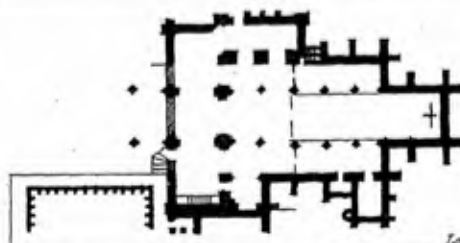
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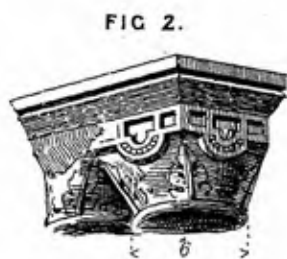
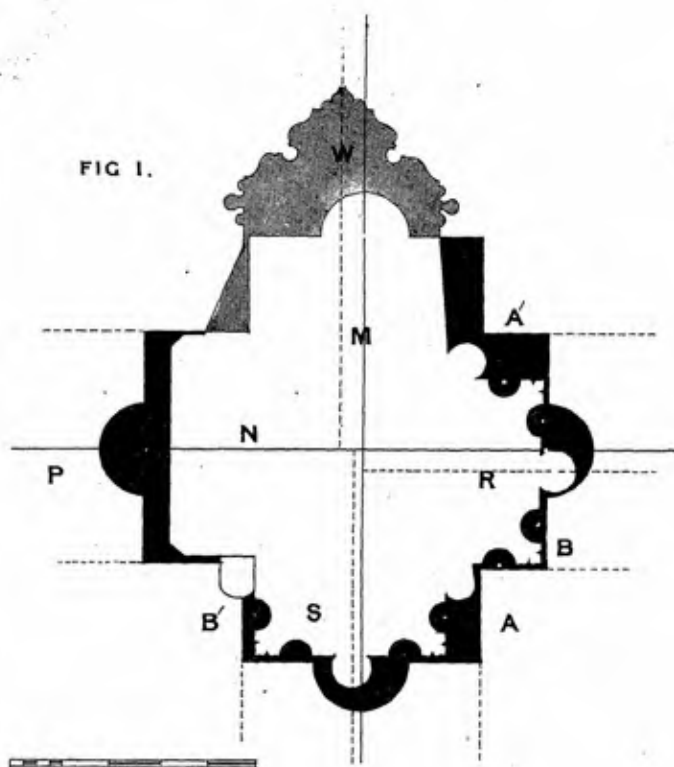
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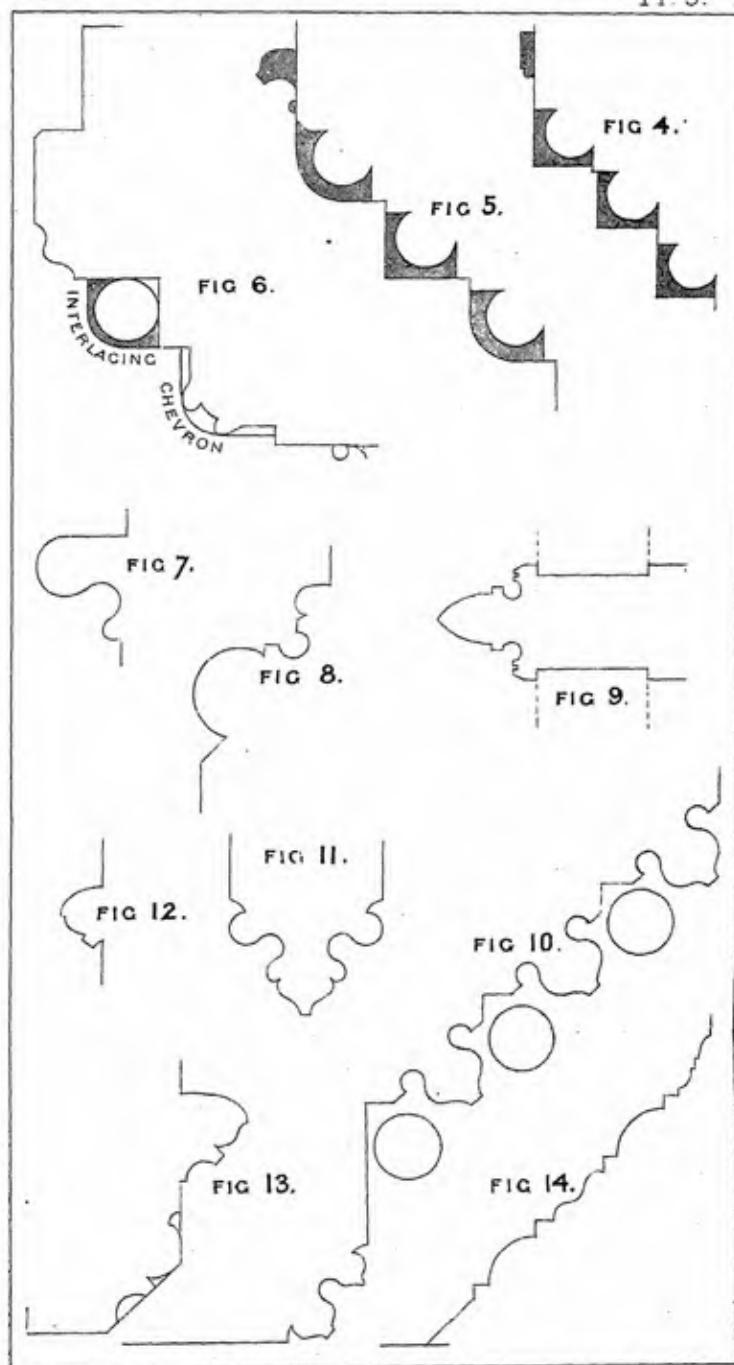


Leningh & Brown

THE ABBEY CHURCH SHEWING CHANGES IN THE
GROUND PLAN FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE
DEATH OF ABBOT ELLIOTT.









the foundation was only six, including officers, and that at no time does it appear to have been more than seventeen. But we must not forget that, although numerically small and of little account, it nevertheless ranked high in monastic society, for it boasted of a semi-royal foundation, it enjoyed the privilege of being one of the mitred abbeys, and, above all, it was ever the favourite house of the powerful lords of the great barony of Berkeley.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the kindness of the author of this memoir in presenting the whole of the accompanying illustrations.

REFERENCE TO THE PLANS GIVEN IN PLATE 2.

- A. The church.
- B. The upper or great cloister.
- C. The lower or little cloister.
- D. The chapter-house.
- E. The calefactory.
- F. The refectory.
- G. The parlour.
- H. The kitchen.
- I. The kitchen court.
- K. The cellarage, for corn, beer, wine, oil, &c.
- L. Abbot's lodgings.
- P. Abbot's gatehouse.
- R. Infirmary.
- S. Prior's lodge.
- T. King's chamber and hall.
- V. Guest-house.
- W. Abbey gateway.
- X. Stables, barns, &c.

NOTICE OF CERTAIN ANCIENT REMAINS RECENTLY DISCOVERED
IN WEST CORNWALL.

IN October, 1860, some evidences, previously very rare, of the Roman occupation of West Cornwall, were discovered in a field on the manor of Carminow, near Helston, on the shores of the Mount's Bay. The discovery was communi-



Fig. 1. Coast of Mount's Bay, showing the site of the discovery at A.

cated to the Royal Institution of Cornwall,¹ and the relics were exhibited at one of their monthly meetings; they have been noticed also in this Journal.² The number of fragments of various vessels of pottery then found, led to the expectation that at a future day the neighbourhood might yield some further proof of Roman occupation in that remote locality.

It was, therefore, with no small satisfaction that I made a second discovery in October, 1862, very near the site of the former; and I should be glad to find that any evidence could

¹ See their Transactions of 1861, p. 51.

² Arch. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 168.

be adduced to warrant the supposition that this is Roman also. After some days of heavy rain, which fell in October, one of the cart-ruts in an old road-way leading from the Loe-bar southwards, was so deeply channeled by the water as to lay bare some stonework which lay across its course, at a depth of little more than a foot below the surface of the road.

The spot is so close to the sea-shore that the entire hill-side is often sprinkled with sand, which is blown from the beach during every heavy gale from the Atlantic which washes the shores of the Mount's Bay. The driven sand supports a scanty herbage for sheep. A careful excavation was immediately made, and on the second day the small building, of which a representation and plan are here given, was disclosed to view.

The structure consisted of two circular ovens or fire-places,

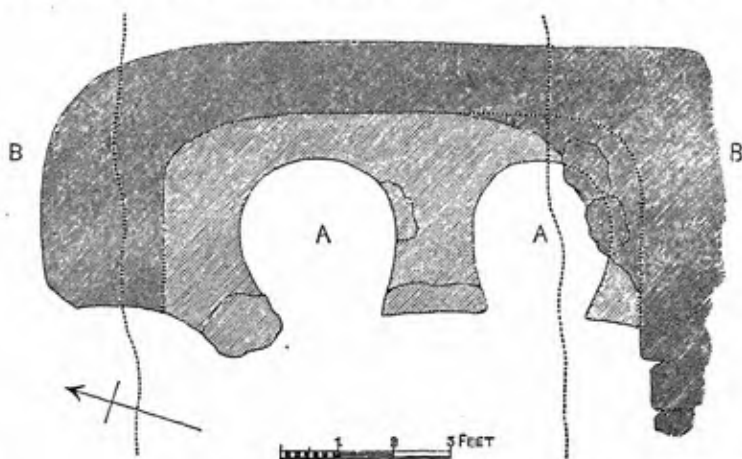


Fig. 2. Plan of the Ovens, A A. B B. Sandbank on either side of the old roadway, defined by the transverse dotted lines.

(A A in plan, fig. 2) formed of the clay-slate of the district, and cemented with a mortar of earth and sand, with a very small portion of lime; the ovens lay beside each other, with roughly paved floors of slates, the side towards the sea being open to the level of the floor.

A kind of hob of stonework ran round the sides and back of the ovens at a level of 20 in. above the floor, screened at the back, towards the land, by a low wall rising from the hob, 16 in. thick, to the height of about 5 feet from the floor.

This wall followed a careful curve at the north end, and at the south end it died away in a straight line in the sand-bank against which it was apparently built. At this end it

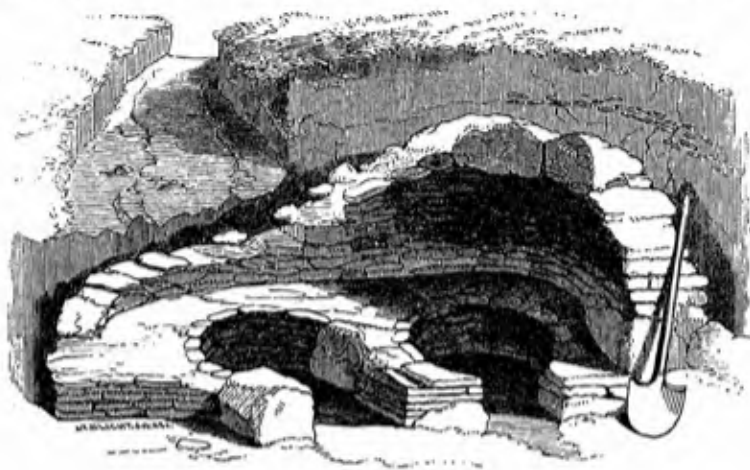


Fig. 3. The pair of Ovens.

overhangs the southern oven in a manner which seems to show that it assumed the form of a flue or chimney, which may have risen a little above the sand-bank. The loose stones which were thrown in for filling between the wall and the bank are clearly distinguishable, and may serve as some measure of the antiquity of the building, by showing the accumulation of sand above them since they were so placed there. The sand is here from a foot to eighteen inches in depth.

The ovens were entirely filled with a charred substance, chiefly sand, which appeared to be the residue of the sandy peat or turf that had evidently been used for fuel, together with some small fragments of charcoal. The whole interior of each oven had been blackened by fire, and the mortar burnt out from the crevices of the stones.

No fragments of pottery, glass, or metal, were found, except a small point of iron, two inches long, but its form had been quite destroyed by oxidation.

The whole building measures only about twelve feet in diameter within.

What then was its use, and what its probable date?

The presence of a kind of slag, or mineral refuse, at first

suggested the notion that the building was a furnace for smelting tin in Roman times, and this belief appeared to be strengthened by the fact of tin having been found not many years ago within a few paces of the spot. Peat, too, such as was here found, was considered in ancient times to be, next to charcoal, the best fuel for smelting ores; and it is believed that the Romans were in the habit of reducing³ tin as well as lead. A closer examination, however, of the burnt stones, and an analysis of the slag and charred sand, dispelled this belief; for it was found that neither the slag nor the sand contained any tin or other metal, and the stones and mortar failed to exhibit evidence of having been exposed to the degree of heat necessary even for the rudest method of reducing ores.

The smelting-house theory, therefore, though attractive to a Cornish man, must, it is feared, be abandoned.

Can the building, however, have any connection with the Roman discovery of 1860? Its situation beneath the surface of a very ancient roadway, and the closely compacted character of the superincumbent soil (a shingly sand, composed of small pebbles, not of shells, and therefore not so easily borne upon the wind, and which would accumulate much more slowly than shell sand by the process of drifting), are circumstances pointing to a remote antiquity.

The masonry, though very different from that of the massive Roman works which exist in our ancient cities and Roman stations, is, nevertheless, carefully and evenly laid, with nice attention to curvature, and the mortar contains a portion, though a very small portion, of lime; no limestone rock occurring nearer than Plymouth, more than 70 miles by land, and much more by sea. Everything, indeed, points to its being the work of a skilled hand, for, probably, some temporary purpose.

Besides the discovery of Roman remains within a distance of 150 yards, an ancient earthwork, extending some 300 yards southwards, commences within a few feet of the building, and is so situated as to have been suitable for affording protection seaward and along the shore to any small force lodged within it.

The conjecture, therefore, which presents itself as the most reasonable is that the building was erected for some culinary

³ See notice of an ancient smelting place for tin, near Penzance.—Royal Cornwall Geol. Trans., 1841, p. 43.

or other purpose connected with the small military force which may have occupied the earthwork.

I have communicated with Captain John Grant (late R. A.), whose system of cooking apparatus for the British army is so well known, with a view to ascertain whether any such structure as this has come under his notice, during the course of his examination of the subject, and he informs me that he has never seen or heard of anything like it.

It will be interesting to know whether any example has fallen under the notice of others.

JOHN J. ROGERS.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the kindness of the author in presenting to the society the illustrations accompanying this memoir.

We are indebted to Colonel Sir Henry James, Director of the Ordnance Survey, a keen observer of ancient vestiges in Cornwall, his native county, for the suggestion, that possibly the little building described by Mr. Rogers may have served in the process of heating caldrons for pitch, to "pay" the bottoms of vessels, which may there have been drawn ashore in olden times. Possibly, however, the furnace may have been used for boiling "wose," or tan-water, which might be required for steeping fishing-nets. The circumstances under which the remains have been brought to light certainly appear to point to a remote period as the date of construction.

Original Documents.

INDULGENCE GRANTED BY JOHN VEYSEY, BISHOP OF EXETER (1519—1551), FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF A BEACON-LIGHT AT THE CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS, ILFRACOMBE, DEVON.

Communicated by Mr. Charles Tucker, F.S.A.

THE inhabitants of several parts of the maritime county of Devon, with its extensive northern and southern coasts, seem at an early period to have venerated St. Nicholas as a patron saint. There are many churches and chapels in Devon dedicated in his honor, and the great Priory of St. Nicholas at Exeter was devoted to this saint on its foundation by William the Conqueror, who made it dependent on his more important establishment at Battle Abbey. St. Nicholas was born at Patara, a city of Lycia, and became Archbishop of Myra, the capital of that province of Asia Minor. He is supposed to have died on December 6, A.D. 326, and to have been buried in that city. His memory has been held in particular veneration by the Western Churches since the year 1087, when his relics were removed from Lycia to Bari, on the coast of Italy, opposite to Ragusa. The popularity of the saint was great, and he appears to have been specially venerated by sailors and fishermen, and also by merchants and mariners trading from shore to shore through the perils of the sea. This *cultus* seems to date from an early period: it has been attributed by Hospinian, in his treatise on the origin of Christian Feasts, to certain legendary statements, to which allusion is made by Vincentius and Mantuanus. The latter, a poet of the fifteenth century, writes thus:—

“ Cum turbine nautæ
Deprensi Cilices magno clamore vocarent
Nicolai viventis opem, descendere quidam
Cœlituum visus sancti sub imagine patris,
Qui freta depulso fecit placidissima vento.”

Among the miracles attributed to him was the saving of the ship, in which he had embarked for the Holy Land, from a terrible storm, and restoring to life a sailor who had fallen overboard and was drowned.¹ St. Nicholas appears to have been especially popular in seaport towns; and there are no less than 376 churches in England dedicated in his honor.

At Ilfracombe, in Devonshire, there appears to have been a chapel, situated on a conical hill rising immediately above the harbour, dedicated to St. Nicholas, as early as the reign of Edward III., when the town was

¹ See *Gent. Mag.* vol. lx. p. 1076.

called upon to furnish six ships to the fleet of that monarch ; it had then already become a maritime port of some consideration. This chapel of St. Nicholas was doubtless resorted to by sailors and others connected with shipping, who were desirous to implore the saint's intercession for prosperous voyages and fair weather, just as we now see the celebrated Chapel of Notre Dame de la Garde, on the south of the town and harbour, above the Port of Saint Nicholas at Marseilles, crowded by devotees previously to embarking or on their return from a voyage. There exists also in Minorca, as related by Armstrong in his history of that island, a remarkable chapel of St. Nicholas, near the entrance of the harbour of Ciudella, to which mariners resorted frequently, and presented pictures representing their perils or deliverance through the intercession of the saint. Numerous votive tablets were thus suspended in the fane, according to an usage to which Horace and other writers allude as prevalent in much earlier times. Bion the philosopher, as we are told, saw such votive paintings hanging up in a temple of Neptune near the sea-side.²

The *cultus* of this saint being so generally recognised amongst mariners, it was highly suitable that a beacon-light for their safety should be placed in any church or chapel dedicated to him, and situated on or near the coast. In the year 1522 we find accordingly that the Chapel at Ilfracombe was made use of for such a purpose, as appears from the following curious document, of which the original is preserved in the Episcopal Registers at Exeter. It is here printed from a transcript made by our late venerable friend, the Rev. Dr. Oliver, to whose investigation of ecclesiastical antiquities in Devon we have on so many occasions been indebted.

The Chapel-Hill, or St. Nicholas' Hill, in course of time received the name of "the Lantern Hill," its present designation ; the sacred character of the building on its summit probably ceased at the time of the Reformation, when the missive of the bishop had no longer any influence ; but the beacon-light had been found too useful to be done away with, and to the present time it has continued to guide the mariners to the harbour of Ilfracombe. It is now a well regulated light-house, with modern improvements, whilst part of the building is used as a reading-room.

In Murray's Handbook for Devon is the following notice of the Lantern Hill:—"On Lantern Hill stands the light-house, about 100 feet above the sea, a quaint-looking building for the purpose, and, in fact, an ancient chapel, which was dedicated to St. Nicholas, and the resort of pilgrims, but which probably at all times displayed a light for the guidance of fishermen. A part of the building is now fitted as a news-room for the inhabitants and visitors." The position of the light-house is well shown in the view of Ilfracombe harbour given by Lysons in the *Magna Britannia*, History of Devon, vol. ii., p. 289.

There is also a view of Ilfracombe in Moore's *Devonshire*, in which the Chapel-Hill is fairly represented. Ilfracombe, or Ilfordcombe, it may be remembered, is a place of interest to the topographer and the antiquary, as having been for some time, it is believed, the residence of the learned Camden. It is a prebend in the church of Salisbury, and was held by him as a lay prebend.

² See the notes to St. Nicholas's Day, in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i., edit. Ellis, 1841, p. 231.

REGISTER OF JOHN VEYSEY, BISHOP OF EXETER, vol. ii., fol. 13.

Document dated 15 April, 1522.

Johannes, permissione divina Exoniensis Episcopus, universis et singulis Rectoribus, Vicariis, Capellanis, et Curatis quibuscunque per Diocesim nostram Exoniensem ubilibet constitutis, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Gratum et acceptum admodum altissimo tociens impenditur obsequium quociens piis operibus in charitatis visceribus devotius insistitur, que iram nostri Redemptoris apud humanam fragilitatem mitigant, et misericordias complacendo excitant Salvatoris. Cum itaque, sicut fide digna relatione accepimus, in quadam capella Divi Nicholai super Portu Ville de Ilfardcomb nostre Exoniensis Diocesis fundata luminare quoddam singulis annis per totam hyemem nocturnis temporibus in summitate dicte capelle ardens, velut stella nocte choruscans, invenitur, cujus splendores de longinquo aspicientes quamplures naves (que)³ procellarum impetibus tempestatibusque in mediis spatiosi maris fluctibus miserabiliter ad mortem usque sepe numero periclitantur, atque debitos cursus, in dicti luminis fuissent⁴ occasione adjute, derelinquentes, tute in portum de Ilfardcomb predictum recipiuntur. Sed, quoniam dicte Ville inhabitantium absque piis aliorum Christi fidelium elemosynis amplius ad dicti luminaris sustentationem⁵ minime suppetunt facultates, de Dei igitur Omnipotentis immensa misericordia, beatissimeque Virginis Marie matris sue, beatorumque Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Patronorum nostrorum, omniumque Sanctorum meritis et precibus confidentes, omnibus Parochianis vestris, et aliis quorum Diocesani hanc nostram. Indulgentiam ratam habuerint pariter et acceptam, de peccatis suis vero penitentibus et confessis, qui ad inventionem seu sustentationem dicti luminis manus porrexerint adjutrices, xl. dies Indulgentie de injunctis sibi penitentiis misericordati in Domino relaxamus per presentes. Datum ut supra.

³ *Que* seems here wanting to complete the sense.

⁴ Though this word seems singular,

the transcript appears to read thus.

⁵ *Sustentatione* in the transcript, probably an accidental error.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

December 6, 1862.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THIS being the first meeting of another session, Mr. MORGAN, in opening the proceedings, offered some remarks in retrospect of the progress of the Society during the past year. He took occasion to allude to the pleasant and successful meeting in which he had participated at Worcester, and also to the encouraging prospects of the proposed congress in the ensuing year, under the presidency of the Marquess Camden, at Rochester, a locality remarkably rich in vestiges of antiquity, and replete with interesting historical associations. Mr. Morgan announced that the Central Committee, encouraged by the general satisfaction with which the occasional and special exhibitions in the apartments of the Institute had been regarded, proposed to form during their present session an exhibition illustrative of the art of sculpture in ivory. That subject had been selected as being one of particular attraction, in connexion with the progress of art, and as presenting a very advantageous occasion for the display of a series exemplifying the characteristic styles of sculpture at various periods, and prevalent in various schools of art, from the classical age through all the periods of mediæval taste.

A memoir was read by Mr. TREGELLAS, describing the remarkable fortress, known as Castell Dinas Brân, near Llangollen, Denbighshire. He placed before the meeting a plan of the site and remaining buildings, carefully surveyed by himself during the previous year, and accompanied by views, elevations, and other drawings, illustrative of his observations. Mr. Tregellas exhibited also, by the kind permission of Sir John Burgoyne, a map of the country around Llangollen, drawn on a large scale, and showing the importance of the site which nature and art rendered almost impregnable. He stated also the scanty evidence bearing upon the origin and history of the fortress and its ancient lords. It is now the property of Colonel Biddulph, of Chirk Castle. Mr. Tregellas pointed out that a considerable portion of the structure, on the south side, has been so undermined that its fall may speedily occur, unless some support be given, which might be readily effected at a small expense by underpinning the walls. We hope to give hereafter the valuable memoir and survey, illustrative of a very important position on the Welsh frontier.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN observed that, having recently examined Dinas Brân, he could bear his testimony to the curious character of the fortress, of which Mr. Tregellas had given so interesting an account. He read the

notes which he had taken on the spot, accompanied by a plan differing in some details from those exhibited.

Mr. J. H. PARKER stated that the remains of the remarkable castle under consideration indicate the reign of Henry III. as the date of its erection. He had regarded the fortress as one of those built in the time of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales; it resembles one attributed to that period near Conway, and another near Peniarth, in Merionethshire.

Mr. BLAAUW then gave a short account of the discovery, in September last, of some mural paintings of early date in Westmeston Church, Sussex; numerous tracings of the sacred subjects delineated on the walls, and also of inscriptions, diapered ornaments, &c., were sent for inspection by the rector, the Rev. O. H. Campion. A more detailed description of these relics of art, which may be assigned to the time probably of King John or of Henry III., was promised for the ensuing meeting.

Mr. GEORGE PETRIE, of Kirkwall, contributed a memoir on the curious structures known as Picts' Houses, in the Orkneys. Printed in this volume, p. 32.

Mr. HEWETT read a short notice of an unique sabre of the sixteenth century, which he had recently noticed in the collection at the Rotunda, Woolwich, now in course of arrangement by Colonel Lefroy, through whose kindness this weapon was brought for examination.

Mr. JOSEPH MOORE, of Lincoln, communicated some remarks on Oriel windows, and on the origin of the name, referring especially to a relic of some interest, a kind of mural niche or receptacle for a light, found some time since at Lincoln, and of which he had kindly exhibited a model on a former occasion.

Professor WESTWOOD communicated the following particulars regarding the recent discovery of a Roman villa at Beckley, about six miles to the north-east of Oxford:—"On casting the eye over the Ordnance Map of the district, it will be seen that a Roman way running from north to south, about three miles east of Oxford, united the two great Roman roads which, starting from the neighbourhood of Tring, diverged, the one towards the south-west, and the other to the north-west, but united again at Cirencester, inclosing, as it were, a large somewhat oval space of country between them. The cross-road ran over much high ground, and is now lost on Headington Hill, amongst extensive quarries which have been dug there. In the neighbourhood of Stow Wood, to the north of Headington, it is very distinct, but in the neighbourhood of Beckley it is again imperfectly visible; and a portion, which was formerly considered as part of the main way, appeared to the Rev. H. Hussey (who has published a memoir on this road) to be rather a side branch of it. The correctness of his observation has been fully proved by the discovery of this villa, to which the branch in question directly led. Dr. Wilson, the President of Trinity College, Oxford, informs me that Roman coins had often been brought to him from the neighbourhood of Beckley, but he never could prevail on the finders to state the precise locality. The discovery, however, of this villa has now doubtless shown where they were met with. The villa was built on the northern slope of the hill at Beckley, and must have commanded a very wide expanse of country to the north and east, of not less than 20 miles, the front of the house looking of course towards the north. It must have been a very bleak position in winter, and this is probably the reason why the spot has not been occupied for building purposes in modern times.

"The villa consisted of four oblong rooms, the walls of which are now scarcely higher than the floor, the stones having been carted away for agricultural purposes; and it appears probable that very shortly scarce a stone will remain to show the spot where the villa stood. The rooms are nearly of equal size, those on the front side of the house being somewhat the largest. Together they formed a building of a regular oblong form, about 30 ft. long by 24 ft. wide. There are no traces of a hypocaust in any of the rooms, the floors of which are level, and were covered with a tessellated pavement of very rude character; in one room somewhat regular patches of alternate dark and light tesserae were to be seen, and in the others darker longitudinal lines running parallel with the borders of the rooms. The frost and ruthless visitors have already destroyed what little there was of tessellated decoration. Two of the outer walls are traceable beyond the angles of the house, extending several feet further than the square of the building; there also appears to have been a kind of block at the angle enclosed within these two projecting walls, and it has been suggested that these may have been the supports of an open external gallery or passage, although, as they open towards the north and east, it seems hardly likely that an open passage would have been needed in such a position. The tesserae of the floors are about an inch square; numerous fragments of rough Roman pottery have been found scattered about, among which are several curved roofing tiles, likewise some flat tiles, having the upper surface ornamented with regular patterns, formed of impressed lines in different directions. The under side of these tiles has, along one of its margins, a flange of about an inch wide and deep, so that two of them placed together would form a good kind of roofing. Amongst the *débris*, a single coin, I believe of Constantine, has been found, and several fragments of bones, one of these, noticed by Mr. James Parker, to whom I am indebted for the greater part of the foregoing details, is considered of an extinct species of ox.

"The only other Roman building which has been found along this cross Roman road is at Wheatley, where there was a very perfect hypocaust; this is described in detail by the late Dr. Bromet, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii. p. 350."

Mr. MACKIE, F.G.S., referring to the notice of the supposed remains of an extinct species of ox accompanying the Roman relics at Beckley, offered some remarks on the various species which appear to have existed in early times in the British Islands. Such remains are mostly attributed indiscriminately to the *Bos longifrons*, but those of the *Bos primigenius* and of the *Bos frontosus* likewise occur. The latter, a species of much larger size than the *longifrons*, may probably have been the ancient species of which mention is made by Cæsar. Mr. Mackie invited attention to the interesting results which might be obtained through more careful examination of the remains of early or extinct races of animals in Britain, and which may occur with the vestiges of Early British or subsequent periods.

Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A., gave the following notice of some rings of a peculiar class, of which he sent several specimens for examination:—"On a former occasion I exhibited at one of the meetings of the Institute some of the so-called—and wrongly—rosary-rings, one of which had seven, the other eleven, and the third thirteen knobs or bosses. I stated my opinion, that we ought to consider these examples as belonging to a form of ring prevalent about the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and

described in wills and inventories as rings with 'knoppes or bulionys.' I had never met with a proper rosary, or more correctly decade, ring of a date anterior to the sixteenth century. But a remarkable specimen has lately been added to my collection, which I send for exhibition. It is of ivory; there are ten knobs or bosses, for the *Aves*, and an eleventh, of larger size and different form, for the *Pater*. There are holes around the hoop, probably merely for ornament. (See woodcut, on a reduced



Ivory Decade Ring, in the Waterton Collection. Diameter of the original $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

scale.) I am inclined to ascribe it to the fourteenth century, and think it not unlikely that it is of Irish origin. I am induced to form this opinion from the peculiar fashion of the eleventh boss, which presents a type found in rings discovered only in Ireland. This ring was found many years ago in an old tomb in Merston churchyard, in Holderness. I also send another decade ring, of silver, and of a later date and type. This ring was formerly in the possession of the Reverend Mother Anne More, Lady Abbess of the English Augustinian Nuns at Bruges, and sister of Father More, of the Society of Jesus, the last male descendant of Sir Thomas More; he gave the More relics to Stonyhurst College. It is stated to have belonged to Sir Thomas himself, and was given by the nuns to the mother of the Very Reverend Canon Corsitt, who lately presented it to Mrs. Waterton. Of the other rings sent for exhibition, one is Gnostic, and bears the usual figure with a cock's head. Gnostic rings wholly of metal are somewhat rare. I send a signet-ring of silver, of the fourteenth century, which has upon the bezel two stars and the tau. Another, a brass signet, with an escutcheon, and which appears to be Italian, has the hoop ornamented with niello. A posy ring, sent with these, has within, 'Time lesseneth not my love;' on the outside are represented two dogs in chase of a hare. Lastly I have to notice a bronze signet, on which appear two palm branches and a heart, from which issue three flowers; and on the heart itself are engraved three letters, P. B. K."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. EDWARD KIDDLE.—A series of drawings of gold ornaments found at Thebes, in the tomb of the Queen Aah Hotep, cir. B.C. 1800, mother of Amosis I., and brought to the International Exhibition from the Museum formed at Cairo by the Viceroy. Mr. Morgan stated that Mr. Birch, being unavoidably absent on the present occasion, had promised to favor the Society, at their next meeting, with some observations on these exquisite

relics of antiquity; and, by the kindness of Mr. Kiddle, the drawings would be again submitted for inspection. Representations of the ornaments have been given, elaborately colored and gilded, by Daly, in the *Revue de l'Architecture*, Paris, 1860; with an account of the discoveries made by M. Mariette, in explorations made by direction of His Highness the Viceroy.

By Mr. J. F. W. DE SALIS.—A moiety of a stone mould for casting weapons of metal; it was found on his estates, at Laughgur, county Limerick, about 1850, and it has been presented to the British Museum, subsequently to this meeting. It was given to Mr. de Salis by Mr. A. Montgomery. This mould bears much resemblance to that found in Anglesea, in 1846, as communicated to the Institute by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, and published in this *Journal*, vol. iii., p. 257. It is formed for casting four objects of various fashion. A representation of this curious mould will be given hereafter.

By Mr. ROBERT MOORE.—An ancient four-sided Irish hand-bell, enclosed in an elaborately ornamented case or shrine, bearing inscriptions on silver plates enriched with niello, also figures of sacred personages in relief, and uncut crystals or gems, of which one only now remains. The original bell, thus carefully enshrined, is of iron plate rudely fashioned; bells of this description, associated with the earliest Christian teachers in Ireland and Scotland, are usually formed of a single sheet of metal hammered into the desired shape, the edges overlapped at the sides and riveted together; the bell thus fashioned was then dipped into melted brass or yellow mixed metal, which adhered to the surface both externally and internally, forming a complete coating, of which, however, few traces are now found on these relics, the oxidation of the iron beneath having thrown off the casing of brass. Some of these objects were regarded as of peculiar sanctity; they have been used from time immemorial in the administration of oaths, for the recovery of stolen property, and for purposes in some manner analogous to ancient judicial ordeals. The history and origin of the relic exhibited is unfortunately unknown. The four-sided iron bell, doubtless used by some saint or preacher of the Christian faith, probably in Ireland, is found, when removed from the exterior covering, to be partly encased in beautifully decorated work of chased bronze, presenting a cruciform ornament with varied patterns in the surrounding spaces, in the style of Irish work of the twelfth century, being portions of the costly coating which the veneration of an age, doubtless considerably later than the original relic, had affixed to it. The external shrine may be ascribed to the fifteenth century; it is in the form of certain ridged reliquaries, of which the upper part resembles the gabled roof of a church or chapel. On the principal face are to be seen figures in relief, originally gilded, a crucifix attached to a cross raguly, the B. V. Mary on one side, St. John on the other. Under the foot of the cross is a large uncut crystal, possibly covering a relic; at one side of this *cabochon* is a mitred figure, on the other an ecclesiastic, possibly an abbot, holding a pyx (?). The other face of the shrine is much defaced; it is engraved with figures of eleven apostles and St. Paul. On one side of the roof are small figures in relief,—Our Lord, the Virgin, and St. Michael,—designated by names inscribed over the figures. On the reverse are seen in *repoussé* work the evangelistic symbols—the eagle and the angel, with the names below—*Iohannes*—*macheus* (for *Johannes* and *Matheus*). On the gabled ends were the symbols and names of St. Mark and St. Luke, but the lion and the

inscriptions—marcus—luchas—now alone remain. On each side of the shrine is attached a metal ring to which a chain is appended, as in other examples. There are also inscriptions, which have not been decyphered, on silver plates with traces of niello: the groundwork of the shrine is decorated with foliage, flowers, &c., hammered up, and also with metal plates of pierced work; traces of gilding appear, but the object has evidently suffered through long use and much friction, having probably been transported from place to place for some hallowed uses. The shrine measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, the width of the principal faces being, at the lower margin, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., and the width of the sides, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., but in each case, considerably less at the upper part of the shrine, the proportions of which are contracted towards the gabled roof, being conformable to the shape of the bell enshrined within. The character of the inscriptions bears resemblance to those on the remarkable object known as the Dunvegan cup. See the curious notices of the portable bells of the British and Irish churches, by Mr. Westwood, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iii., pp. 230, 301; vol. iv., pp. 13, 167; and the abstract of Mr. Petrie's observations addressed to the Royal Irish Acad., May, 1838, and given in their Proceedings. Several ancient Scottish examples are also noticed in *Arch. Scot.*, vol. iv., p. 117; Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, pp. 652, 663; Catalogue of the Museum of the Institute at the Edinburgh Meeting, p. 33, &c. A very curious specimen, the bell of St. Mura, has been figured in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i., p. 271, and described by the Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., and Mr. John McClelland, jun., of Dungannon, in whose possession that remarkable relic is now preserved. It is attributed to the seventh century, and has long been held in great esteem for its virtues in facilitating child-birth.

By Mr. HENDERSON, F.S.A.—The following exquisite objects of oriental art in metals:—A Persian shield of steel, damascened in gold. The inscriptions are an invocation to Allah, reciting his attributes, another inscription round the boss states that it was made by Mahmoud, the son of Ibrahim. There is no date on it, but the high *kulpack* worn at present in Persia, and here seen in the ornamentation on figures following the chase, would give a date not earlier than 1700. It was brought from Persia by a French officer long resident in the country, who stated that he had seen nothing so fine of its kind.—A poniard, in a plain black sheath, brought from Persia with the shield.—A beautifully wrought belt-clasp, brought from Persia by the interpreter to the late ambassador to this country, who purchased it, as he stated, from the descendants of Nadir-Shah, now in poverty. It may have belonged to the Shah, but the workmanship appears to be anterior to his time.—Two richly ornamented Persian poniards, a battle-axe, damascened in silver, and a dagger of the peculiar kind commonly called a stirrup-dagger, from India. It was obtained in Oude.—A choice silver Russian vase from the Soltikoff collection, decorated with *repoussé* and chased work, of the seventeenth century. The following is a translation of a Russian inscription around the rim of this beautiful vase: "True love is like a golden cup, nothing can break it, and if it be bent the mind can restore it."

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A decorative pavement tile, found at Ulvescroft Priory in Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, founded in the reign of Stephen. Its date may be assigned to the fourteenth century. The device is a ram within a circle, and accompanied by the inscription—

SOL IN ARIETE. This tile was evidently part of a set with the signs of the zodiac. A similar tile found at Ulvescroft has been figured in this Journal, vol. ii., p. 89, where some curious particulars, communicated by the Hon. Henry Stanley, are given.—A German executioner's sword, of the later part of the sixteenth century: the mountings are of brass; the gripe has its original covering; on each side of the blade is seen the imperial mound (Reichsapfel), ensigned with a patriarchal cross, and accompanied by the date, 1589. On one side of the blade is the following inscription:—*WER KLUG IST SPGLF (or SPIGLE) SICH ANDERER VERTERBEN AVF SINDE VOLGT (or FOLGT) DER TOD AVF MISSETAD DAS STERBEN*; which may be thus rendered—"Who is, or wishes to be, wise, let him think on the ruin of others; on sin follows death, on crime destruction." There is also the name—*IOHANNES HEIN(RICH?) KIHN*. On the other side is inscribed—*DOCH IST ES BESSER HIER MIT RECHT DURCHS SCHWERDIGE STORBEN ALS EWIG SONDER RV MIT GANTZER HAVT VERLORREN*—"Yet is it better here to die by the sword, than with a whole skin to perish eternally." This curious weapon was obtained from Dresden.—Four beautiful examples of locksmiths' work, of the seventeenth century; steel keys, with their handles elaborately ornamented with coronets, interlaced cyphers, &c., resembling the chamberlains' keys of the period.—A pair of short Japanese swords inlaid with gold, silver, and copper.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A MS. Service Book, of the fifteenth century, with several illuminated pages, on which are delineated subjects of curious design. It has been long preserved in the possession of Lord Tredegar's family in Monmouthshire.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.—By JAMES KENDRICK, Esq., M.D.—Impression of the fine official seal of John Bassett, of Tehidy, or Tydy, Cornwall, as Vice-Admiral of the northern parts of that county. The family of Bassett, descended from the Bassetts of Ipsden, Oxfordshire, was resident at Tehidy early in the thirteenth century; in the civil wars they were noted for their loyalty, and the head of the family, Sir Francis, was Vice-Admiral of Cornwall and Governor of St. Michael's Mount. John Bassett, his son and heir, suffered imprisonment and heavy losses for his father's disaffection. This beautiful seal represents a three-decker; on the mainsail there is a large escutcheon of the arms of Bassett, three bars wavy. The inscription is as follows—*SIGI : IOH : BASSETT : ARM : VICEADM : PARTIV : BOREALIV : COM : CORNVBIE*.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

EISENWERKE ODER ORNAMENTIK DER SCHMIEDEKUNST DES MITTELALTERS UND DER RENAISSANCE. VON J. H. VON HEFNER-ALTENECK. Folio. Frankfurt a. Maine, 1862. Lieferung. 1—6.

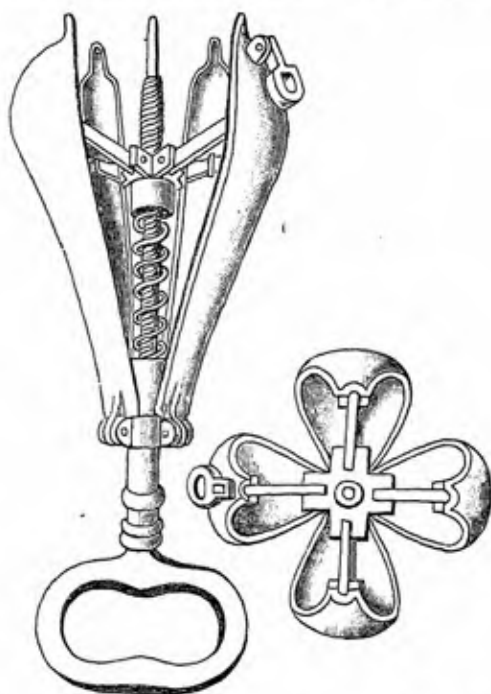
WE have here the first half of another work of an artist who may fairly be styled the Henry Shaw of Germany. The same excellent taste in the collection of subjects for delineation and publication, the same scrupulous and minute accuracy in representing the details of the objects so selected, and the same care in bringing them before the notice of the public, are eminently characteristic of all Hefner's publications, as they are of our English artist.

Already has Hefner become celebrated by his "*Trachtenbuch des christlichen Mittelalters*;" a work on the costume of the Middle Ages, which, in consequence of the author's determination to give precise copies of his authorities instead of modernizing them as was done by Strutt, Meyrick, Séré, and others, possesses the highest importance. That valuable publication has been noticed in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 212. This was followed by his work on Tournaments, and by another publication of more general interest, the "*Kunstwerke und Gerathschaften*," devoted to mediæval objects of all kinds having an archæological interest, the majority of which are remarkable for the extreme elegance of their execution.

WE have now another work before us, containing figures and descriptions of objects executed in iron, and it is quite surprising to observe the multifarious ways in which this most useful material has been made to contribute, and that too in the most beautiful manner, to the uses and pleasures of our forefathers. The Continental museums are extremely rich in such objects, and we are glad to observe that in our own newly established, but already rich, Museum of Mediæval Art at South Kensington, this class of relics has not been neglected. Even up to our own time, the iron works of Prussia are celebrated for the extreme delicacy of their castings, and an inspection of the plates of Hefner's new work makes us wonder how so apparently untractable a material can have been wrought into such beautiful forms and delicate details as are given in many of the plates now before us. In our own country, within the last few years, it is true that iron work has been more generally applied to decorative purposes than heretofore; and probably at no time, or in any country, have more important works been produced than were contributed by English manufacturers to the General International Exhibition of 1862, amongst which must be specially remembered the Hereford Cathedral Gates, and the Norwich Gates recently presented to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by the gentry of Norfolk.

It is, however, in representing the exquisite workmanship of smaller objects that the work before us will be found of the greatest use, and in

which many of them might be taken either for the most elaborate wood carving, or even for carefully-finished miniatures. Here we see to what a great variety of uses iron can be applied: gates, knockers, keys, key-plates, locks, bolts, caskets, candlesticks, brackets, hinges, bells, purse fastenings, coronæ, flagons, instruments of torture, and a variety of other objects are here represented, many of them being of the most elegant forms and many of the quaintest possible design. Especially we may allude to



Poire d'Angoisse, an instrument of torture. See page 82.

the two candlesticks in plate 17, each standing on three feet, and each remarkable for the simple primitive manner in which the candle was elevated as it burnt down. In one a longitudinal slit was made on one side of the cylindrical stem of the candlestick, a small moveable block within being raised or depressed by means of a twisted wire extending out of the slit, and resting in alternate notches on either side of the slit. In the other the body of the candlestick is formed of a narrow spiral plate, the small moveable block being wound up and down the spire by a similar twisted wire. Plate 28 is devoted to several remarkable instruments of torture, one being a brank or scold's gag, preserved in the National Museum of Bavaria at Munich, very grotesque in its general appearance, but which must have been a very disagreeable kind of head-gear. As this Journal has already contained several illustrations of this class of instruments, we have copied (in outline) one of Hefner's figures, in which the grinning mouth and teeth, outstretched tongue, spectacled nose, ass's ears, and cow's horns, will be noticed, the whole surmounted by a large erect



Brank or Instrument of Torture in the National Museum at Munich.

ornamental leaf. Within the mouth is fixed a small pipe or whistle, which would sound by the breathing of the victim, adding to his grotesque and hideous appearance. The same plate contains figures of another kind of gag, more simple but very infernal in its design, as it was employed to force open the mouth of a victim whilst under torture in order to prevent him from screaming. When closed it has the appearance of an elongated pear, which being put into the mouth gradually opens into four divisions by means of an enclosed screw, and thus forces the jaws open and keeps them from closing. Our outline figures show the pear in its open state, and seen sideways and in front, the latter having all the appearance of a flower with four incurved petals. This atrocious device of the sixteenth century, of which so far as we are aware no specimen exists in this country, has been attributed to a celebrated ruffian, a native of Toulouse, who was the terror of the citizens of Paris. The following notice of his invention is found in the "*Histoire générale des Larrons*," by F. D. C., a writer of Lyons—"Palioly, Toulousain, fit connoissance avec un serrurier qui étoit fort subtil et adroit, ou il fit faire un instrument, à qui il donna le nom de *poire d'angoisse*, instrument diabolique tout à fait, et qui a fait des grands maux dans Paris et par toute la France. Cet instrument étoit fait en forme de petite boule, qui par de certains ressorts qui étoit dedans, venoit à s'ouvrir et à s'élargir, en sorte qu'il n'y avoit moyen de la refermer, ny de la remettre en son premier état, que par le moyen d'une clé qui étoit faite expressément pour ce sujet."¹ See the woodcut on a previous page.

The most elaborate object represented in the work is the great corona in the church of Breden in Westphalia; to this three plates are devoted; the diameter of the corona is 8½ ft. and its height 14 ft. Around the circumference of the lower part are figures of the twelve apostles in open-work Gothic niches very elaborately ornamented, each having a bracket in front for holding a light, the spaces also between the niches being decorated with rosettes inclosing the sacred monogram, and having chains suspended from them. The central stem of the corona is formed of a figure of the Blessed Virgin holding the infant Saviour in her arms, and standing on the crescent moon; whilst the upper part is hexagonal in form, surmounted by two angels. This portion bears two inscriptions, one of which is to be read thus—"Meister Gert. (Gerhard) Bulsinck, anno dni. MCCCCXXXIX."

On the whole, we may recommend this book to our ornamental workers, not only in iron, but in other materials, as affording a series of designs which it would be difficult to surpass and not easy to equal.

We gladly invite attention to the announcement of immediate publication of the first portion of the important work commenced by the late Rev. W. H. Dixon, of York, and augmented by our talented friend, the Rev. James Raine, Secretary of the Surtees Society. It is entitled—*Fasti Eboracenses, or Lives of the Archbishops of York*. Vol. I. will comprise the lives of the Northern Primates to the death of Edward III. The work is published by Mr. Sampson, at York, and by Messrs. Longman, in London.

Mr. Kiddle proposes to publish a series of chromo-lithographs of the jewelry found in the tomb of Aah Hotep, noticed at p. 75, *ante*. The accompanying text will be given by Mr. Birch. A prospectus may be obtained at the office of the Institute.

¹ See a notice of the specimen in the Sauvageot collection in the Louvre. Catalogue by M. A. Sauzay, p. 148.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1863.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL AND MONASTERY AT WORCESTER.¹

By THE REV. R. WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S., &c., &c., Jacksonian Professor of the University of Cambridge, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

PART I.—THE CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER I.—FROM THE FOUNDATION TO THE DEDICATION IN 1218.

WORCESTER Cathedral, although in actual length holding only about the fourteenth place in a list of great English cathedrals and conventual churches, is inferior to very few in interest and value, when considered with respect to the history and practice of mediæval architecture.

It was originally a cruciform Norman church, with nave, transepts, and an apsidal eastern extremity. The aisles of the crypt were carried round the apse, and probably led to one if not to three radiating chapels. There was also an apsidal chapel attached to the east wall of each transept, and a central tower. The plan of the crypt shows that there were three severies in the eastern arm of the cross, besides the apse, which had seven pier arches. Each transept had two severies; the nave had nine severies, as now. The choir screen was fixed at the second pier of the nave, reckoning from the tower. Thus the seats were placed under the tower, as I have shown upon various occasions to have been the usual position in Norman churches, their presbytery only being elevated upon the crypt.²

¹ Read before the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, at their Annual Meeting at Worcester,

in July, 1862.

² The choir remained in its ancient position till the reign of Queen Mary.

Of this Norman church the crypt remains, and also the walls of the transepts, the outer walls of the nave aisles, much altered and disguised, and various small portions that will be pointed out below. Also of the western severies of the nave, two entire on each side. The mediæval changes of the structure were briefly as follows. The Norman presbytery was replaced by an Early English structure of singular beauty, commenced in 1224, extending to more than double the length of the original eastern building, and giving to the cathedral the distinction of an eastern transept, equal in height to the central alley of the presbytery, which is only to be found elsewhere in England in the late Norman of Canterbury (c. 1096), and York (c. 1160), and in the Early English of Lincoln (c. 1186), Salisbury (c. 1220), Beverley, and Rochester.³ On the Continent the only known examples of this feature are S. Benoit sur Loire (c. 1080), and Cluny (c. 1089), the former of which was doubtless the prototype of the English examples.

The Norman nave of Worcester was, with the exception of the two western severies on each side, rebuilt; its north side in the early part of the fourteenth century, the south side at the latter part. The transepts were next brought into their present state of mixed Norman and Perpendicular, and the tower carried up. The whole cathedral offers most instructive examples of the methods of restoration and construction employed by the mediæval architects, as I will endeavour to show in the following pages.

The documentary history of the structure consists for the most part of certain entries in the *Annals of Worcester*, printed by Wharton, in 1691, in the *Anglia Sacra*; of a few notes in Leland's *Itinerary*; and some extracts of collegiate documents made by Dr. W. Hopkins, a prebendary of Worcester from 1675 to 1700, the originals of which are missing. All these passages are to be found in the histories of this cathedral by Abingdon, 1717; Browne Willis, in his "*Mitred Abbies*," 1718; and "*Cathedrals*," 1742; Thomas, 1736; Green, 1764 and 1796; Wild, 1823; Britton, 1835, &c.,

In treating of the ancient church I shall, therefore, often employ the word presbytery for the part which is now called the choir.

³ The nine altars at Durham, and the

eastern termination of Fountains Abbey, are also high transeptal structures, but as the central building does not cross them and pass eastward, they belong to a different class of transept.

who copy the one from the other in succession in the usual manner, each applying the passages according to their own views and the manner of their times, an example which I shall follow by now submitting my own interpretations and applications, and comparing these historical notes with the architectural character of the existing buildings.

That Bishop Wlstan began a new Norman church or minster is shown by two documents of his own. The date of the actual commencement of the work in 1084, depends upon the Annals "1084, inceptio operis Wigorn. monasterii, per S. Wlstanum," in which we also find the year 1088 assigned to the entry of the monks into the new minster.

But Wlstan's deed of gift conferring the manor of Alveston on the monastery, declares that he, desiring to amplify the monasterium of S. Mary, erected by his predecessor Oswald,⁴ not only by *the construction and ornamentation of a church*, but by augmenting the number of monks,⁵ had induced more than fifty to join him since his coming, when he had found little more than twelve. As it thus became necessary to increase the lands for their maintenance, he had obtained from King William the Elder, xv hides of land termed Alveston, and has given this for the maintenance of the brethren, and has laid this gift on the altar of the Holy Mother of God. The date of this document runs as follows:—"in the year of the incarnation M.LXXX.IX indiction XII. the third year of the reign of King William the Younger, the twenty-seventh of my episcopate, *the first year of our entrance into the new minster which I have constructed* in honor of the Mother of God, and the day of the Holy Pentecost."⁶

⁴ Oswald, bishop of Worcester, introduced monks into Worcester cathedral and rebuilt the church, in 983, with monastic buildings. He dedicated the church to S. Mary, and was buried therein, notwithstanding his translation to the Archbishopric of York. His successor at York, Ædulfus, raised his bones and placed them in a precious shrine in consequence of reputed miracles. The shrines of Oswald and Wlstan were the principal attractions of the devotees of the middle ages to Worcester cathedral until the Reformation.

⁵ *De Baldestune*, Ego Wlstanus . . . Wigorniensis ecclesie pontifex monasterium sancto Dei genitricis Mariæ à pio memorie, beato scilicet Oswaldo, predecessore meo in sede episcopali construc-

tum, majori honore et dignitate amplificare cupiens, non solum in *ecclesie constructione et oratione*, verum etiam ex monachorum ibidem Deo famulantium illud locupletari studui augmentatione.

⁶ Anno dñice incarnationis M.LXXX.IX^o indictione XII^{ma} regni autem regis Willi junioris tercio epatus 7^o mei XXVII. ingressionis n're in novum monast'ium q^d construxi in honore ejusdem dei genitricis primo die sce Pentecostes.

This elaborate date, of which all the clauses are consistent with May 20, 1089, also agrees with the date 1088, given to the entrance of the monks into the new minster in the Annals of Worcester, supposing that event to have happened after May 20.

The word *monasterium* is usually applied

1092. Wlstan appoints a synod to meet in the minster or *Monasterium* of S. Mary, "*in the crypts which I have built from the foundations and by the mercy of God have since dedicated.*"⁷

Malmsbury, who lived in the first half of the twelfth century, relates that when the work of the great church which Wlstan had begun from the foundation, had so far advanced that the monks might migrate into it, he commanded the old church, which the blessed Oswald had made, to be unroofed and pulled down. The historian puts a speech into his mouth upon this occasion, which has been frequently quoted, and which, if not in the genuine words of Wlstan, is valuable as evidence to the inferiority of the Saxon edifices to the Norman, having been written when so many of the Saxon buildings were in existence or in the historian's memory.⁸

It is probable that the new church was built near to the old one, perhaps to the east of it; and that it was necessary to clear it away to make room for subsequent operations.

Wlstan died in 1095, and eight years after, in 1113, a fire occurred in Worcester, which is said to have burnt the city, with the principal church and castle.⁹ Malmsbury relates these two events with additional particulars:—"S. Wlstan," he tells us, "lies between two pyramids, having a handsome stone arch turned above him. Over this structure a wooden beam projects from the wall, which has iron hooks fixed into it." It may be observed that an arch surmounted by two lateral pyramids is a usual form for a monumental canopy. The historian goes on to inform us that after the lapse of not a few years, a fire

to a church as well as to a monastery, *c. g.*, in the Annals of Winchester, "*sequenti die . . . cœperunt homines prium velas frangere monasterium, et tractum est totum in illo anno excepto porticu uno et magno altari.*"—Vide my Arch. Hist. of Winchester, p. 18.

⁷ 1092. Ego Wlstanus . . . decrevi Synodum congregare in Monasterio S. Marie, in *criptis quas ego a fundamentis ædificavi* et per misericordiam dei postea *dedicavi.* Ann. Wig.

Upon this passage Green rightly remarks (vol. i. p. 178):—"Incriptis quas, &c. Such is the reading in Wharton, Hearne, and Wilkins edition of the acts of this synod.

So that there is no pretence of inferring hence, as some do, that this minster was anciently entitled, S. M. in Criptis, unless the reading in this charter had been *quod ego, &c.*" But not being able to understand that the crypts of churches contained altars, which we now are able to prove from abundant evidence, he imagines that the monks applied the term *cripta* to the vaulted aisles of their churches, following Stevens, who, in the English Monasticon (App. 141, 146), translates *cripta*, "vaulted isles."

⁸ Vide my Arch. Hist. of Winchester, p. 34.

⁹ Ann. Wig. & Flor. Wig.

(the one just mentioned) in the town, was, from carelessness, communicated to the church, and totally consumed the roof. The lead was melted, the planks converted into charcoal, and beams as large as whole trees fell to the pavement. He dilates upon the supposed miraculous preservation of the Saint's tomb in the midst of this ruin, which, after all, is not incredible, seeing that in great fires the accumulation of falling material is often found to protect combustible and delicate articles from injury. This anecdote shows, however, that the presbyterium of the Norman cathedral was roofed in and completed at the period of the fire, and had probably been finished some years before.

The annals of Worcester next inform us that in 1175 the new tower of Worcester fell.¹ In 1201 miracles began to be performed at the tomb of Wlstan on the xiv. kalend of February, which for a whole year and more increased to such an extent that it is said that sometimes fifteen or sixteen sick persons were cured in one day. This is important only as showing the growing veneration for Wlstan, which became so fruitful a source of revenue to the cathedral, and enabled the present structure to be completed. In the next year, however, the cathedral church again suffered from fire, and was, with all its adjacent offices, and great part of the city, consumed on the fifteenth kalend of May. A commission appointed by the Pope to inquire into the miracles of S. Wlstan, visited Worcester on the day of S. Egidius. In consequence of their report, Wlstan was canonized at Rome on the ninth kalend of May, 1203, with great solemnity. King John visited his tomb in 1207, with great ceremony, and having performed his devotions there, gave 100 marcs towards the repair of the cloister and offices, which, as we have seen, had been destroyed five years before by fire. The cloister was probably of wood, but there are abundant remains to show that the monastic offices were built of stone in the Norman time before the date of this fire. Thus the chapter-house is a stone-vaulted Norman building, and the vaults under the refectory are of very early Norman construction. The passage which leads from the south-east angle of the cloister under the end of the refectory has a beautiful enriched Norman archway at its northern

¹ *Turris nova Wigorn. corrui.* (Ann. Wig.)

extremity; and the passage between the chapter-house and north transept is of early Norman construction. There are also Norman fragments in the ruins of the dormitory, which had a Norman vaulted sub-structure. Possibly, some of the buildings were of wood, raised upon these Norman vaulted sub-structures, and the roofs of all of them, as well as of the church, must have suffered. The passage at the north-west angle of the cloister is of Pointed Norman, subsequent to this fire.

King John died on the 19th of October, 1216, at Newark, and was buried in the cathedral church, before the great altar, between the tombs of S. Oswald and S. Wlstan, to which the chronicler adds, "*that the saying of Merlin might be verified—He shall be placed between the Saints.*"

Lastly, "in 1218, the cathedral church of Worcester was dedicated on the seventh of June, in honour of Mary the Holy Mother of God, of Saint Peter, and of the holy confessors Oswald and Wlstan: that is to say, the great altar in honour of S. Mary and S. Oswald; the medium altar in honour of S. Peter and S. Wlstan; in presence of the young King Henry and of a large assemblage of distinguished ecclesiastics and nobility duly enumerated by the chronicler. On the same day, after the dedication, the body of the glorious confessor S. Wlstan was translated into a feretrum or shrine." This receptacle had been in preparation for some years, for it is recorded that in 1216 the Earl of Chester's followers plundered the cathedral church, and exacted 300 marcs from the monks, for the payment of which they were compelled to melt the work of the feretrum of S. Wlstan. From this dedication we may infer that the structure of the church from east to west was now complete, and also that the repairs consequent upon the two fires and the fall of the great tower had been carried out. The subsequent architectural history of the church records the enlargement of this complete structure eastward, and the reconstruction in new architectural fashions of the nave, transepts, and other parts.

Before pursuing this historical evidence, it will be better to examine the existing building, for the purpose of recovering the plan and arrangement of the complete church thus dedicated. (Vide the plans, figs. 1, 2, 3.)

The crypts, the undoubted work of Wlstan, remain in

perfect order, with the exception of a portion of the eastern part, which is filled up with earth and burial-places, and from them the plan of the Norman presbytery can be traced. The crypt has a central part under the presbytery with an apsidal termination. The side aisles are continued round the apse, furnishing a procession path; crypts were also placed beneath the apsidal chapels, which projected eastward, one from each eastern wall of the transepts. Of these, the northern one is completely destroyed, but I am informed that the foundations of its crypt were discovered in the late repairs. The crypt of the southern one still exists. The Norman chapel above it, however, was, in the thirteenth century, replaced by the Early English chapel or vestry which now exists, and at the same time the apse of this crypt was taken down, and the present square termination substituted. The foundations of its apse (traced some time since) were, however, again uncovered during the present visit of the Institute for the inspection of its members.

The straight walls of the central crypt are divided by the vaults and pillars into seven severies, and each lateral wall is pierced with three arches, which manifestly corresponded in position with the Norman pier arches of the presbytery above. These lateral walls are built of good ashlar Norman masonry; but several of the arches have been filled up with later rubble work to sustain the Early English piers above, for these latter not being placed so near together as the Norman piers were, it happens that some of them stand over the arches of the crypt walls, instead of being upon the piers, as shown in my plan of the crypt (fig. 2, and in fig. 4). The vaults spring from stone cylindrical Norman pillars, with plain cushion capitals, high bases, and square plinths. Square-edged arches spring in the transverse and longitudinal directions from each abacus, and the groin-edge of the vault is brought down between these arches, so as to rest on the abacus, resembling in this respect the other Norman crypts. The last pillar of the central row is in the centre of the apse, and from its abacus seven square-edged arches, with intermediate groin-edges, slightly acute, radiate to the pillars in the next rank, and these again are connected by other arches and vaults to the circuit wall of the apse, forming a unique and most picturesque combination.

There are but four apsidal crypts in England, which in chronological order are—Winchester (1079), Worcester (1084), Gloucester (1089), and Canterbury (1096). In all these the side aisles run completely round the apse. Amongst them, Worcester is remarkable for the multiplicity of small pillars employed to sustain the vaults. The side aisle has a row of small pillars running along the centre, which are not employed in the other examples. The central portion has three rows of intermediate pillars, whereas Gloucester and Canterbury have but two rows, and Winchester but one. Yet the width of the central crypt of Worcester is less than the others.²

This increased number of pillars, by diminishing the span of the arches and dividing the weight of the vault upon so many supports, enables the diameters of the pillars to be reduced, and gives greater lightness to the architecture. For the height of all these crypts is nearly the same : so that at Winchester and Gloucester the arches are flattened into ellipses, the pillars are low and squat, and the crypts appear as sepulchral vaults ; while at Worcester, where the arches are semicircular, and the pillars more slender, the crypt is a complex and beautiful temple.

It is true that at Winchester five ribs of the crypt vault also radiate from the eastern pillar ; but at Worcester the number of these ribs is seven. Also the intermediate lateral rows of pillars and the semicircular arcade which terminates them to the east, are employed in this crypt only, as already mentioned. I have analysed this arrangement at length, in a paper communicated to the Institute of British Architects (May 1, 1863), and published in their Transactions, to which I beg to refer.

I have there endeavoured to show that the central pillar, which is employed in English chapter-houses, of which that of Worcester is the earliest, but not on the Continent, was derived from the central pillar and radiating vaults of the English crypts we are considering.³

To appreciate the beauty of Worcester crypt, it must be seen when illuminated by fixed candles. The varied form

² The width of the central crypt is 30 ft. at Worcester, and 34, 32, and 36, at Winchester, Gloucester, and Canterbury respectively.

³ In Canterbury crypt, subsequent to

Worcester, radiating arches are employed, evidently copied from those of Winchester. They are not used in the crypt of Gloucester.

of the arches and vaults, and complex arrangements of the pillars, can only be thus observed. The architect of Worcester had certainly seen the crypt of Winchester, but in originality and taste was of a greatly superior order to the constructor of the latter. At the meeting of the Archæological Institute, one of our most distinguished members said that the crypt reminded him of the mosque of Cordova.

I have stated that the circumscribing aisle at the east end of the crypt is now blocked up, probably to allow of sepulchral vaults being formed in it. This prevents the possibility of ascertaining whether any or what kind of chapels projected eastward in the usual manner. The extent eastwards, however, of the high presbytery floor, makes it probable that the remains of a Norman apsidal chapel exists below it, and it is unlikely that the circumscribing aisle would have been built unless intended to lead to three chapels, or at least to one.⁴ Foundations of walls have been traced lying at an angle with the walls of the south Early English eastern transept, in the nook formed by its western wall with the wall of the choir, and part of these walls were obligingly uncovered for my inspection. I was informed also that the base of a Norman shaft had there been seen *in situ* at the first excavation, and the head and jamb of a window, on which was painted an angel. Of this drawing a tracing was made, but the original was necessarily destroyed to make room for the new foundation of the restored wall of the transept.

These foundation walls do not indicate a lateral apsidal chapel, but they may have belonged to a tower, and thus show that Worcester apse, like Canterbury, was flanked with a pair of small towers, set at an angle with the direction of the building.

This is the more probable, because we are told that "in 1222 a mighty tempest of wind, rain, and thunder arose, on the feast of St. Andrew," and amongst other damage "threw down the two small towers of Worcester." (Ann. Wig.)

Besides the crypt, several detached traces of Norman structure remain in the church, which I will describe in order. These are shown in the plan (fig. 1), and indicated

⁴ In my plan of the crypt, fig. 2, I have shown in their usual positions three radiating chapels, K, I, H. But I have

no evidence to show that such chapels were actually built at Worcester.

by letters to which I shall refer. It is greatly to be regretted that the perishable nature of the sandstone of which this church was built, has compelled a series of repairs and re-casings of the exterior walls from time to time, which have utterly destroyed the evidence usually given by the junctions of different portions of masonry on the outside of a building, by which to judge of the changes of style and other alterations.

The late repairs have shown that the originally Norman flat square-edged turret buttresses at the north corners of the transept, which appear in the engravings of Wild and Britton, were casings of the real Norman ashlar, merely built against the surface without bonding, but following its outline. The original surface, in a decayed state, was found behind this casing, and exactly the same in plan.

The similar square-edged returns of the Norman work in the south transept, and in the west front, having decayed, were simply disposed of in the repairs of the last century, by cutting the whole down to a chamfered surface, thus converting the Norman angles of the transepts, &c., into imperfect octagons.

In the interior, the south transept preserves the rich Norman arch (at o, fig. 1) which opens eastwards into what was once the apsidal chapel, but is now an Early English one of rectangular plan. Later work and windows have been inserted into these walls, as we shall see below; but the trace of another large arch in the eastern wall above the one just mentioned, and of the same span, can be seen in the masonry below the clerestory string-course, and also in the gallery and roof behind, and its upper part is visible above the leads of the roof of the vestry chapel. This arch shows that the apsidal Norman chapel had a second story on the triforium level, with a similar chapel, as at Chichester, Canterbury, and elsewhere. The lower arch is richer on its western or outer side than on its eastern. It has been always visible on the eastern side, but its western side was only laid open during the visit of the Institute. The head of the corresponding arch of the north transept appears in the wall (at p).

The southern surface of the north wall of the choir (*d*), at its junction with the tower, is manifestly of Norman masonry, for it retains the springing voussoirs of the north-western pier arch of the Norman presbytery (at A, fig. 4); also part

of the jamb and the springing voussoirs of the Norman triforium arch, as well as the string-course and lower part of the jamb of the Norman clerestory. These indications are sufficient to show the relative levels of these members of the Norman architecture to the corresponding ones in the existing building, and have been judiciously preserved in the present repairs.

In the roof of the aisle of the triforium, above the north aisle of the choir (over *e*), the outer surface of the wall can be examined, and the Norman masonry will there be seen, with its characteristic string-course, at the junction of this wall with the tower.

In the north angle of the walls at the west end of the south aisle of the choir, against the south-east tower pier, (at *c*) there is a plain Norman shaft with cushion capital.

At the south corner of the east end of the roof of the north triforium of the nave (over *f*), the angle of the north-west Norman tower pier still projects, with its characteristic string-course, exactly like that which remains in the transept below at the window-sill level. All these evidences show that the present tower piers retain in them the core of the Norman tower piers. A Norman shaft and capital remains at the north-eastern angle at the end of the north aisle of the nave (at *g*). Another on the outer face of the north door of the nave on the west side (at *h*), showing that that doorway is the Norman doorway transformed. In fact, this was the usual door to the cemetery, which in this cathedral was on the north side.

Great Norman shafts project from the walls of the nave on its north side (at *i*), and on its south (at *k*), opposite to each other, at the centre of the second pier from the west. A third, similar to these (at *l*), is in the south side aisle, in the centre of the same pier. These show that the first Norman nave extended to this point at least. But besides this evidence, the south wall of the side aisle of the nave has a series of five Norman arched recesses (*n* to *o* and *c*, *d*, fig. 5), one opposite to each of the present pier arches. These recesses are 9 ft. 3 in. wide, and 2 ft. 6 in. deep. Their jambs are 8 ft. high, and they are each surmounted by a plain square-edged semicircular arch, formed of excellent masonry in red sandstone. Two of these at the east end are filled up with monumental arches of the period of the present south

architecture of the nave. This is enough to show that the semicircular arches existed previously, and could not be a subsequent addition, if indeed that were not sufficiently shown by the traceried windows of the fourteenth century that surmount them. As this is the wall next to the cloister, the arches could not have been intended for windows. They were probably meant to receive the monumental arches of distinguished persons, in the same way as at Hereford, &c. But their positions show that the piers and pier arches of the Norman nave occupied the same places as the present ones.

The two western compartments of the nave on each side, including both their side aisle walls as well as the side aisle vault on the south, and the vaulted passage beyond it, which led from the cloister to the infirmary, are in a different style from the Norman fragments just enumerated. They belong to a transition Norman, in which pointed arches are used, mixed with semicircular arches, and are treated with curious local peculiarities. These have perplexed some antiquarians, who have thought it necessary to suppose that the arches have been altered from semicircular to pointed. But a careful examination of the whole of this work, including the external cloister passage, will show that it is an entire and consistent specimen of style.

We may therefore assign this western work of Worcester to the last quarter of the twelfth century, when the pointed arch was introduced, but was treated in the Norman manner. Thus in the vault of the side aisle the wall arches and transverse ribs of the vault are pointed, but the diagonal ribs are semicircular, the windows round-headed. There is a rich pointed Norman doorway with zig-zag work at the entrance of the vaulted passage from the cloister. In the nave the compartments have pointed pier arches, a triforium in which the outer order of the arches is marked by a pointed arch, but the subordinate divisions are round-headed. Finally, the clerestory above has a round-headed central opening, ornamented with Norman shafts and zig-zag work in the arch. This opening is flanked by two narrow pointed openings.

In the pier arches and triforium arches a plain round molding is employed, shown (at c) in the plan of the pier (fig. 3), which runs without a base up the pier and continuously over the arch, forming an external order or frame to it. A similar molding in front of this runs by the side of a triple

group of vaulting shafts up to the clerestory string, but is there cut off by the later vaulting ribs.⁵ The side aisle vault shafts of similar pattern show that this molding was intended to form a continuous wall rib. The older Norman shaft which marks the junction of these transition compartments with the ancient nave,⁶ is cut off at the triforium string, and the transition Norman vault shafts set upon it, bearing their own florid Norman capital at the level of the clerestory string. Upon this rests the fourteenth-century group of vault ribs.

It is evident that when these compartments were built, it was intended to vault them with stone in the manner of the south side aisle, for the group of vault shafts in the central nave is precisely similar to those in the side aisle.

Continuous moldings are in Norman work usually confined to the inner arches of doors and to windows. But I have observed the molding just described as framing a group of shafted pier arches in several cases in the west of England—as at Gloucester, the north side aisle of the choir at Lichfield, and at Bredon church near Worcester—the latter evidently the work of the architect of the western compartments of the cathedral.

The late repairs have disclosed the traces of lateral Norman doors (κ, κ) in the west front, at the end of the side aisles of the nave, and the traces of a large central doorway (ι) are also visible in the masonry under the great western window. The latter, which was first inserted in 1380 in connection with the work of the present nave, descends so low as to cut off the upper part of the doorway arch. The sill of the window is carried by an arch of construction, on each side of which the jambs of the great arch of entrance are visible in the masonry. Norman round-headed windows also (in an imperfect and altered condition) still remain above the lateral doorways at the triforium level. Thus the western wall is proved to be in substance the original Norman one, and it is plain that no western towers terminated this church.

⁵ The plan fig. 3 does not show this second continuous molding, and the triple vaulting shafts, because the fragment of the older Norman pier, A B, occupies their places in this and the opposite pier. The great shaft A is in the position of the triple vaulting shafts

of the piers to the west of it, and the square edge, B, corresponds to the continuous molding of the latter piers.

⁶ Shown by the thick black line in the section, fig. 4, and in the plan of the south pier, fig. 3.

There are no traces of their existence in the triforia or elsewhere.

If we now return to the transepts, we shall find their walls provided with groups of vault shafts, rising from the pavement to the clerestory level, and of the same form as those of the transition Norman work at the west end of the nave. In the north transept the profile of the triple vaulting shafts (at *s*, *t*, *v*), and of the rounded molding behind them, is exactly the same as in the nave. In the south transept (at *p*, *q*, *r*), there is a slight variation, the nook which separates the central vault shaft from the lateral ones is more deeply sunk, and in place of the rounded molding, which is little more than a quarter of a circle, we have a decided engaged shaft, with a keel similar to the front vaulting shaft. All this indicates that this work of the south transept was taken in hand after the north.

The bases of these vault-shafts, now sunk below the pavement,⁷ have been uncovered for inspection, and in the south transept are precisely similar to those of the west end of the nave. In the north transept the shaft (*v*) is continued without base to a rough stone, having been probably concealed by a monument or by some fittings in the original structure. The capitals of these shafts are of the same character as those at the west end.

The walls of the transepts internally were, at my request, scraped of their plaster, by which it appeared that the lower part is of uncoursed rubble work, roughly laid with wide joints of mortar. At the level of the lower window-sill a string-mold of the older Norman form runs along the wall, evidently in its construction contemporary with this rubble facing. The groups of vaulting shafts above-mentioned are of good ashlar masonry, manifestly a subsequent insertion, engrafted into the rubble. Their ashlar courses extend laterally along the face of the rubble to a greater or less distance, apparently to consolidate it where required.

The upper part of the east and west walls of the transept has been tampered with by the insertion of Perpendicular tracery and windows, and the addition of the present vault in the fourteenth century. The north gable was entirely rebuilt in 1748, with an enormous and ill-designed Perpen-

⁷ The transept pavement was raised to its present level in 1748 (vide below, p. 122).

dicular window. This, in its turn, has been removed during the past year, and in its place a lofty window of the Salisbury cloister type substituted.⁸ The south gable has round-headed Norman windows, with zig-zag work in the heads in the lower part of the wall. These were blocked up by the building of the Treasury in 1377, described below. Above them is a large window which had been filled with late Perpendicular tracery, but has been lately restored as an Early English window.

At the south corner of each transept is a circular stair-turret, which is remarkable for its unusual projection into the church. It is a plain cylindrical tower of good ashlar work, carried up with a straight joint at its junction with the rubble wall.

The scraping of its walls disclosed the fact that it is built of stones of two colours, the one a white or rather cream-coloured stone, the other a green stone. These are laid in bands at the lower part, not regularly, but above the doorway the courses are for a short distance alternately white and green in horizontal stripes, after the manner of the Cathedrals of Pisa, Siena, and other Italian examples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁹

The striped masonry is not employed in the fragments of the Norman work of the choir, already described at *o*, *c*, *e*, *d*, and the shaft at *g* is white. But the early Norman part of the south pier near the west end of the nave (*k*, *l*) is constructed of striped masonry (at *A*, *B*, *H*, fig. 3), in green and white, like the lower part of the turret staircase in the transept.

The Norman shaft on the north side of the nave at *i*,

⁸ The choice of this style is greatly to be regretted, for there is not a single example of it about the cathedral, and, to judge from the imperfect representations in the engravings of Hollar and others, this was certainly not the style employed in the original window. In all probability, the tracery of this north window and of the opposite one, was Perpendicular, in harmony with the vaults and the windows which remain in the side wall.

The Perpendicular style was mixed with the Norman in these transepts by the mediæval architects, in the natural course of the repairs required in the fourteenth century; but the gratuitous

modern addition of an Early English window at one end, and an Early Decorated window at the other, was surely unnecessary and inconsistent with the history of the fabric.

⁹ Mr. Perkins informs me that the white colite of the cathedral was obtained from Bredon Hill at Bath; the green stone from Higley, above Upper Harley, on the Severn; the red sandstone from Holt.

The vaults of the Early English are of red sandstone, and those of the later work of a light tufa, of a pale cream-colour, from Stanford, or from Soustons rock and Falkestone.

retains some green and white stones, but this shaft has evidently settled very considerably, and has been at the lower part rebuilt in red sandstone. Its lateral pilasters (corresponding to B, fig. 3) are re-constructed in a kind of long and short work of red sandstone, adopted for the purpose of more securely holding together the ruinous structure behind it. This is probably a very late repair. The pointed Norman compartments at the west end of the nave are built in green and white, but the colours are arranged upon a different principle from the striped walling used in the older Norman fragments just mentioned. The triforium and clerestory of these compartments were not yet scraped at my last visit, and I cannot therefore describe them. In the pier (vide plan of pier, fig. 3), the moldings or nook-shafts (D and F) are of white stone throughout, not in long pieces, but in courses ranging with the masonry of the remainder of the pier (as C, E, G), which is green. The whole of the capitals and abaci are white, the entire molded pier-arch and wall above it green, and the triple vault-shaft green. In the side aisle the triple vault-shafts green, with white capitals and abaci. The vault, rough rubble, with green ribs. Thus the striped principle is wholly abandoned, and the colours distributed with respect to the architectural members.

Traces of similar parti-colored work appearing in the chapter-house, a compartment was obligingly cleaned of whitewash at my request, by which it appeared that the masonry of the Norman arcades and niches is built of the same stones, the colours of which are carefully managed so as to display the architecture and ornament the walls with alternate stripes of color.

It is evident from the mixture of the early Norman and transition Norman in the transepts, that either they were carried up only to a certain height while the nave was being built, and afterwards completed at the latter end of the twelfth century, by the same workmen who erected the western compartments of the nave, or else that they were damaged by the fall of the tower in 1175, above recorded. This date coincides so well with the probable date of the west end work, that we may well suppose that this accident may have made repairs necessary.

In recapitulation, we gather from the preceding remarks that Wlstan began the presbytery in 1084, had completed

and dedicated its crypt in 1089 for the performance of the services, that the superstructure of the presbytery was roofed in at least before 1113 (when the fire consumed the roof), and probably some years earlier; and that the nave and lower parts of the transepts, by the character of the fragmentary portions that remain, must have been completed in the first three quarters of the twelfth century. The tower, probably the centre one, that fell in 1175, is called "*nova turris*." The western compartments of the nave and Norman repairs of the transept belong to the last quarter of the twelfth century.

In illustration of this history, I may mention that the Norman naves of Ely and Peterborough are both terminated at the west end with works in which the Pointed arch is employed, while the treatment of it in moldings, zig-zag work, capitals, &c., is wholly Norman. This work at Ely is recorded as due to Bishop Ridel (1174—1179). Also the works at Canterbury, begun in 1175, after the fire, are wholly treated with the Pointed arch, excepting where the Round arch has been forced upon the architect by the mixture of his new work with the old, as I have explained at length in my History of Canterbury Cathedral.¹

CHAPTER II.—FROM THE DEDICATION TO THE COMPLETION OF THE EARLY ENGLISH WORK.

AFTER the dedication in 1218, we find various wondrous miracles of S. Wlstan recorded in 1220 and 1221. In 1223 a dispute arose between the Bishop and Convent upon several questions, amongst others, concerning the disposal of the profits of the tomb and shrine of S. Wlstan, whose reputation as a worker of miracles was manifestly increasing, so as to make the offerings extremely valuable. In 1224, it was agreed between the parties that the profits should be equally divided between the Bishop and Convent, and that honest clerks or monks should be appointed on the part of the Bishop and Convent respectively, to take charge of the receipts. In this same year "was begun the new work of the front of the church of Worcester, Bishop William laying

¹ P. 91.

the foundation stone."² This was six years after the dedication.

In mediæval documents, the front of a church is usually the east end, and there can be no doubt that the *novum opus* here mentioned is the Early English work at the east end of the cathedral, to make way for which all the Norman work east of the tower was taken down to the level of the crypt—this new work, erected on the same site, standing upon the crypt, but with wider arches. Beyond the site of the crypt, and therefore on a lower level, this work was extended eastward in the same style, to a total length equal to double that of the Norman presbytery (exclusive of the probable Lady Chapel of the latter), and so adjusted as to place the central tower of the church exactly midway between the east and west extremities of the entire building. Eastern transepts, as already stated, were adopted in this addition to Worcester.

The height of the walls is the same as in the Norman building, but the relative altitudes of the three stories, pier arch, triforium, and clerestory, are different. The respective levels of these stories are, as nearly as can be ascertained, the same in the Norman compartments at the west end of the nave, and in the fragment of the Norman presbytery wall (A, fig. 4), already described. But the elevation of the pavement of the presbytery upon the crypt, about four feet above the nave, diminishes the height of the pier-arch compartment by that quantity. The string moldings and floors of the triforium and clerestory galleries were therefore apparently at the same level respectively throughout the Norman church.³

² Ang. Sac. pp. 486 & 543; the latter gives the original "*Compositio inter Episcopum et Monachos*," &c., at length. "*Inceptum est novum opus frontis Wigorn. ecclesie. Episcopo Willielmo jacente fundamentum.*" (Ann. Wig. p. 486.)

³ In the present church, the relative levels of the three floors in the nave and choir are disposed differently from those of the Norman. The heights above the pavement of the triforium floor, the clerestory floor, and even the height of the clerestory wall to the apex of its wall rib, are very nearly the same respectively in the nave and in the choir. Conse-

quently, as the pavement of the nave is about four feet lower than that of the choir, all the members and floors in the nave are lower than the corresponding ones in the choir by that quantity; yet the central ridge of the vault of the nave is rather higher than that of the choir. This arises from the fact that the transverse vault-cells of the choir are horizontal. But in the nave these vault cells are greatly inclined downwards from the central ridge to the walls. These peculiarities are correctly shown in the sections and elevations of Wild and Britton.

But in the present choir, the piers being more widely spaced than the Norman, the arches are nearly double the span, and being pointed, rise higher, and thus the triforium floor is thrown about six feet above the Norman level. The altitude of the triforium story is, however, less than in the Norman one, and thus the clerestory floor is only about three feet higher than in the Norman church. The triforium and clerestory of the choir and Lady Chapel are at the same levels respectively, and the design of these two portions of the building alike, yet their respective pier arches are of a totally different proportion. The width of each severy in the choir (20 feet) is much greater than in the Lady Chapel, where it is 15 feet 6 inches—nearly as four to three. In addition to this, the pavement outside the crypt being three feet and a half lower than in the choir, gives an additional height to the piers of the Lady Chapel—those of the choir being 16 feet high, and of the Lady Chapel nearly 20. The arches of the two spring from the same level; but as the latter are narrower, so they are more acute than those of the choir.

The Lady Chapel thus acquires a grandeur and loftiness of appearance greatly superior to that of the choir, whose arches appear sprawling in comparison with it.

The style of this Early English work is as nearly as possible the same from one end to the other; and the frequent repairs, more especially of the outer surface (which, from the perishable stone employed, has been repeatedly renewed and altered since its first construction), have rendered it impossible to detect those changes in the masonry which, in better preserved buildings, enable us to show interruptions of the work, and determine the manner in which it was carried on.

The only disruption now apparent is in the north and south aisle wall in the middle of the eastern severy of the choir. But this is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the whole structure to the west of this settlement is built upon the walls of the Norman crypt; and the remainder eastward, which stands outside that crypt, was founded upon the open ground of the old cemetery, which has necessarily produced unequal settlements.

The piers of the work are of various plans, but are alike respectively on the north and south. This is also the case

with the parts of Salisbury Cathedral east of the great transept, and in several other examples of this period. The pier-arch moldings are also of two patterns, the one very nearly the same as those of the choir and presbytery of Salisbury, and, like them, having one of the ribs flanked by a double range of dog-tooth. This set of moldings, which has a hollow in the soffit, is given to all the arches from the tower to the small transept, except the eastern on each side. The latter and all the pier arches of the Lady Chapel have another pattern, equally rich in the number and succession of ribs and hollows, but wanting the dog-tooth, and having a projecting rib in the soffit.

The triforium moldings are the same throughout the whole of the Early English work at Worcester. The clerestory moldings have some slight variations.

The transverse vault ribs of the side aisles and centre of the work between the great tower and the small transepts (namely, the present choir) have a hollow mold in their soffits; and this is also the case in those pier arches of this work which have the dog-tooth. But the transverse vault ribs throughout the remainder of this work—namely, the eastern transept and Lady Chapel—have a projecting rib in the soffit, corresponding to the moldings of their pier arches.

The order in which this Early English work was erected may be determined from this distribution of the hollow soffit and ribbed soffit to the transverse ribs and pier arches of various parts of the church.

The ribbed soffit is given to the whole of the Lady Chapel, to the four great transverse ribs of the crossing compartment of the small transept, and to the lateral arches, *v v* (fig. 1), by which the side aisles of the choir open to this small transept. It is also given to the eastern arch (4, 5) of the choir, and to the similar and opposite arch on the north. The piers (4) on which this arch rests stand outside the wall of the crypt (as shown at *F*, fig. 2), on a block of masonry erected to receive them.

The part of the building to which the ribbed soffit is confined, is thus shown to be a complete structure, capable of being separately erected, and of standing alone, and of bearing its vault; and the one pier arch (4, 5) on each side westward of the small transept serves to buttress the great arch (5, 6)

and its opposite. In many junctions of two structures erected at different periods, the pier arch story of the first portion, and sometimes the triforium^{*} above it, is continued in this manner beyond the clerestory and central vault, as in the nave of Westminster Abbey.

The masonry of the spandrls of the south pier arch (4, 5) also shows that the eastern end of the spandril was built first, for the junction line of two parts of masonry remains sloping from the east downwards to the west.

Also the vault of the Lady Chapel is of much earlier and rougher construction than the remainder of the vaulting of the eastern work. It is of a very light tufa in rounded blocks, so rude as not to admit of being allowed to remain, denuded of its plaster. The vaulting of the small transept and choir presents a continuous surface, and has been completely scraped.

The ribbed soffit, in fact, is confined to the portion of Early English work which is founded upon the open ground of the cemetery, and was capable of being erected complete, without disturbing any more of the existing Norman presbytery than the circumscribing aisle and radiating chapels. The hollow soffit, on the contrary, is used throughout the part of the Early English work which is based upon the walls of that portion of the crypt which was allowed to remain.

I conclude, therefore, that the ribbed soffit work was begun in 1224, and carried on without disabling the Norman presbytery and the high altar; so that the services of the church continued in their original place, until the completion of this first portion of the work made it necessary to pull down the Norman presbytery, and erect the hollow soffit work in its room, by which the Early English structure was connected with the tower.

This was the course of proceeding followed in the Early English eastern prolongation at Rochester, as I have ascertained by a careful study of that building during the meeting of the Institute in the present year. The plan of this Rochester work is very similar to that of Worcester, and it was completed for service in 1227, three years after the work of Worcester was commenced.

One striking difference between the two portions of the work is, that the lateral walls under the windows of the

choir side aisles are plain, but those of the eastern transepts and of the Lady Chapel have richly molded arcades, with elaborate and curious sculpture in their spandrels.⁴

The Early English windows of the side aisles, and indeed of the entire choir and Lady Chapel, were replaced by good Perpendicular windows in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, as shown in the engravings of Britton, Wild, and others. But these side aisle windows were originally triple lancets, and provided on the inside with molded scoinson arches, resting on slender detached shafts placed in front of the window wall, so as to give room for a gallery passing behind them, in the manner very common in clerestories, but unusual for windows near the ground. These arcades were allowed to remain in front of the Perpendicular tracery. Two of these windows are represented in Britton's plates, XI and VII. Some of them have three detached arches in front; others a single wide arch, which in the north aisle shown in Britton's plate XI, is richly foliated; others (as in Britton's plate VII) are plain. In the recent repairs the tracery, which was ruinously dilapidated, has been removed, and the original lancet lights restored after the pattern of one that had originally escaped the insertion of tracery.

The design of the walls of the eastern transepts is extremely beautiful. Two lofty triplets of lancet lights are placed the one above the other. The lower triplet has a gallery in front of it immediately above the arcaded wall, and at the same level as the sill of the adjacent side aisle windows. The upper triplet has a similar gallery at the level of the triforium. Rich clustered shafts rise from the lower gallery in two orders; the inner order carries molded arches to correspond with the heads of the lower triplet; the shafts of the outer orders rise from the lower gallery up to the impost of the upper triplet, grouping themselves with the shafts that stand in front of the upper triplet, and uniting in one group of capitals at the impost, where they carry a range of three arches with deep rich moldings. Thus the entire composition represents a gigantic window of six lights. These lights had been filled with Perpendicular tracery, shown in the engravings already referred to; but this in the

⁴ I must leave to others who have made symbolical sculpture their especial study to describe the beautiful examples in the

spandrels, bosses, and other parts of the cathedral.

recent repairs has been removed, and the lancets restored to their original form. A great window was inserted in the east gable of the Lady Chapel at some unknown period, and occupied its entire area. This, which had been replaced by a bad copy in 1791, has been entirely removed, and the gable rebuilt in imitation of the walls of the transepts above described, but with five lancet lights in each row.

In the choir and Lady Chapel, detached Purbeck shafts are applied to all the piers; some have them fixed in the usual manner by a narrow course of marble, which projects from the piers, and has sockets above and below to receive the ends of the shafts, which it appears to embrace in the manner of a ring. These are the respond piers next the tower, the four larger piers of the crossing at the eastern transepts, the eastern pier, and the respond of the Lady Chapel, also a pier of the south side aisle—eleven in all. The remaining eight—namely, the three intermediate piers of the choir on each side, and one on each side of the Lady Chapel—have their Purbeck shafts encircled by a brass ring, which covers the joint in the middle of the height.

It thus appears that the brass-ringed piers are symmetrically arranged, and stand opposite to each other, yet are mixed with the marble-ringed piers, and both are used not only in the choir, but in the Lady Chapel. Therefore the variety afforded by brass and Purbeck rings was provided for in the original design.

Now the only historical record of the Early English work (except the date of the commencement in 1224, already quoted), is preserved by Leland (*Itinerary*, viii., p. 104), who says that "Godfrey Giffart, Bishop of Worcester, decorated the columns of the east part of the cathedral church of Worcester with small marble columns having joints of gilt brass."⁵


That the bishop holding the see from 1269 to 1302 might at least have supplied brass rings, is corroborated by the fact that such rings are employed in the portion of the nave of Westminster Abbey that contains the choir stalls, and was erected during this very period, namely, after the completion of its presbytery and transept in 1269, and was

⁵ Godefridus Giffart, episcopus Wigorn., exornavit columnas orient: partis ecclesie cathedralis Wigorn. columnellis mar-

moreis cum juncturis aureis deauratis. —Leland, *Itinerary*, viii. p. 104.

finished in the year 1285, and are to be found in no other part of that fabric. Throughout the earlier portion, marble ring courses are used in the original ordinary manner. In the later portion or western part of the nave ring courses of masonry are again employed, although in the Perpendicular period, but they do not sustain detached shafts; for the small shafts which surround the piers are built solid with the central body, like vertical moldings, and are in reality introduced only to harmonize with the earlier piers.

There is no chronological difficulty in the case of the brass-ringed shafts at Westminster Abbey in 1269, because the style of that building is quite different from the Early English of Salisbury and Worcester, and greatly in advance, the tracery principle being fully developed in it. But the Early English of Worcester, begun in 1224, is far too early in style throughout to have been in building during the life of Bishop Giffart, from 1269 to 1302, and therefore some other explanation must be sought for to explain his connection with the brass rings. This I will attempt to supply. There is another way of fixing these detached shafts, which I observed at Pershore, and which may help to explain the case of Worcester.

Pershore Church was burnt in 1223, and rebuilt so as to be dedicated in 1239.⁶ Its piers and pier-arch moldings are so nearly the same as those of Worcester choir and presbytery, as to show them to be the work of the same school of masons. Its piers have detached shafts, which are formed of a kind of black slate 4 inches in diameter, and in lengths of 5 feet or 6 feet. These are fixed to the pier by iron cramps driven into a joint of its masonry. The cramp is furnished with a T-shaped head, and is driven so that the head shall be vertical, thus—. The shafts have holes sunk in their upper and lower surfaces, so that the lower length of the shaft, having been lodged in a shallow socket on the base of the pier, the T cramp was placed with its lower head in the upper hole of the shaft, and its tail then driven into the pier. The next length was then set upon the upper projecting head of the cramp, and its upper end secured by a similar cramp. The joints of the different

⁶ In 1239, Bishop Walter de Cantilupe consecrated the conventual churches of Great Malvern, Winchcomb, Alincestre,

Teukesbury, Gloucester, and Persore.—Register ap. Thomas, p. 131.

shafts of the same pier are not always set at the same level with respect to each other, but are cut so as to coincide with some horizontal joint of the main pier, and thus permit the tail of the cramp to be driven into it. This is a very simple mode of attaching shafts of this kind, and admits of detaching a shaft if shattered, which is not unfrequently the case when long lengths of shafts are attached to piers. For the piers are built of many courses of masonry, the mortar between which occasions the pier to shrink; and as the shafts are in two or three lengths only, they therefore do not shrink nearly so much. Thus the weight of the structure is apt to be thrown upon these slender shafts, and to fracture them, or at least to splinter the edges of their joint surfaces.

Price⁷ indeed, from observations at Salisbury, declares that the shafts in that building were not in general introduced in the order and course of the work, but fixed with lead in a socket purposely left, after the building had settled. These shafts, at Salisbury, or some of them, are said to be fastened to their piers with a bandage of brass; but I have myself no memoranda of the exact arrangement of the bandage.

Upon examining the piers of Worcester, I found that the detached shafts of those which have brass rings were in reality attached to the piers by T-headed cramps, as at Pershore, and that the brass rings are subsidiary additions for the mere purpose of covering the joint, which in itself is unsightly when its edges have become splintered. Such ragged edges appear in the shafts at Pershore.

I venture to suggest, therefore, that in the original construction of the work at Worcester the shafts were merely fixed by the cramps, leaving the joints visible as in ordinary masonry; and that the Bishop, long subsequent to the completion of the work, took the opportunity of displaying his liberality by covering the joints with ornamented brass rings, which, as we have seen by the example at Westminster, were in use up to his own time. Leland's memorandum, which gives him credit not only for the rings, but for the small shafts in addition, is merely from hearsay evidence, not quoted from a document, and need not therefore be accredited to the very letter.

⁷ Price's Salisbury, p. 63. Dodsworth's Salisbury, p. 131.

At the same time, it may be remarked that it is not impossible that some of the original shafts had been splintered by the settlements of the building, which were very considerable, and that such were replaced by the Bishop when he added the rings.

CHAPTER III.—THE ALTERATIONS IN THE NAVE AND TRANSEPTS.

WE may now return to the Nave, and examine the process by which it has become transformed from Norman to its present aspect, which is a mixture of Decorated and Perpendicular architecture.

History furnishes us with the documents that follow. "1281. The sacrist, N. de Norton, received from the executors of Nicholas, Bishop of Ely, 60 marcs towards the rebuilding of the tower" (Ann. Wig., p. 505).⁸ This, which we may suppose to belong to the central tower above the roof, shows either it had never been rebuilt since the fall in 1175, or else that it was again threatening ruin. The Norman tower piers are now cased with masonry of the fourteenth century, as will presently appear; so that the project of reconstruction must have been postponed to the rebuilding of the nave, concerning which the earliest remaining memorandum is given in Leland's *Itinerary*,⁹ thus—"Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, made the vault of the north aisle in the nave of the church." He held the see from 1317 to 1327. He was buried in the north aisle of the nave opposite the window west of Jesus' Chapel,¹ which confirms Leland's information, as it is probable that he was there buried as a benefactor in the midst of his own work. His will, dated 1327 (given in Thomas' *History*—App. 103), bequeaths twenty pounds to the fabric.

In addition to these notes, we have a series of dates collected from the archives of the cathedral by Dr. William Hopkins, a prebendary from 1675 to 1700. These were first printed by Browne Willis in his *Mitred Abbies* (vol. ii. p. 262), where he says that they were communicated

⁸ Thomas says that the church of Wolverley was specially impropriated to the building of the tower.

⁹ Thomas Cobham, episc. Wig. : fecit

testudinem borealis insule in navi ecclesie.—Leland, *Itin.*, 4th App. f. 39.

¹ Green, p. 86, from Abingdon's MS.

to him by Mr. Thos. Baker, of St. John's College, Cambridge. They have been also copied by Thomas Willis, and by other historians of the cathedral, each from the other. I have found Baker's own extracts in his MSS., now in the Harleian Collection at the British Museum, from which it appears that Dr. Hopkins' note-book was then in the possession of Mr. Laughton, a canon of Worcester, who, according to Willis's list, held his canonry from 1700 to 1714.

One of Dr. Hopkins' note-books, labelled Historical Collections, is in the Museum (Harl. 464), but does not contain the memoranda in question. I give Baker's extracts verbatim below in the Appendix, but will here briefly quote the dates thus preserved that apply to our present purpose:—

1320. Prior Braunston built the gestic hall.

1372. Refectory and cloyster built.

1374. Tower or belfry.

1376. Stone vault over the quire under the belfry, and over St. Thomas's Altar.

This is explained by the fact that the quire at that time was placed under the belfry.

1377. The vault over the nave of the church, the library, treasury, and dormitory.

1378. The water-gate.

1379. The infirmary and stalls in the quire.

1380. The west window.

1386. The north porch of the church.

The mention of the names of the sacrist and cellarer in Dr. Hopkins' extracts shows that these dates are extracted from fabric rolls or other genuine mediæval documents; but as it is impossible that any one of these works could have been completed in one year, we must either suppose that the date assigned to each is the year of its completion, or that the fabric roll of the years mentioned happens to contain an indication of the works in hand, which Dr. Hopkins has supposed to mean that the whole work was made in that year. The language of fabric rolls is very obscure, and the actual work in hand very rarely indicated; and it is only in our time that the technical terms employed have been made intelligible. The hypothesis I have suggested does not, therefore, in the least detract from the learning or accuracy of the antiquary who has preserved these valuable memoranda. It is not impos-

sible that the rolls themselves are still in existence amongst the chapter archives.

The actual state of the nave and tower will be best understood by reference to the diagram (fig. 4), which represents an elevation, or rather map, of the north side of the entire nave, of the north tower arch, and of two severies of the choir. These are shaded with different hatchings so as to separate the various architectural styles which I am about to describe. The arches are indicated, and the vaults, but the triforium and clerestory are merely shown by the separating lines. The severies are numbered in order from the west, and I shall call them simply No. 1, No. 2, and so on, in the following description.

In this elevation there are five distinct styles of architecture :—

1st. The Primitive Norman, represented by the crypt in Nos. 11 and 12, and the fragment of superstructure in No. 11; also by the black line between Nos. 2 and 3, which rises from the ground to the triforium, and shows the place of the western shaft of the Norman nave. (Vide p. 93 above.)

2nd. The Pointed Norman, in Nos. 1 and 2.

3rd. The Early English, which includes the whole part east of the tower, but of which only two severies, No. 11 and No. 12, are shown in the diagram.

4th. The Decorated work, to which belongs the entire walls of Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, with the lower or solid mural portion of the vault, as shown; and also the pier arches only of Nos. 3 and 4. The entire vault of the side aisle behind this elevation, from No. 1 to No. 9 inclusive, also belongs to this style.

5th. Work which may be called Perpendicular, which includes the triforium and clerestory of Nos. 3 and 4, the entire vault of the nave (except the lower parts of the vaults indicated above), and the tower arches. This style also includes the entire south side of the nave, with its side aisle vault (exclusive of the two Pointed Norman western compartments), and the inserted windows, vaults, and other details of the transepts.

We may conclude, therefore, that the north side of the Norman nave was taken down first, and that when the portions indicated in the Decorated style had been completed, a pause in the work or a change of architects happened,

and the triforium and clerestory of Nos. 3 and No. 4 were then completed in a different style.

Leland has told us that Cobham made the side aisle vault of the north side, and was buried beneath it. This fixes the date of the Decorated work between 1317 and 1327. It is in perfect accordance with the habits of the Middle Ages to suppose that, the rebuilding of the nave being undertaken by the Convent, the Bishop selected a definite portion, such as is the vaulting of the side aisle, as his share of the work, in preference to a mere contribution of money in aid of the whole.

I have shown elsewhere² that in the construction of the ribbed vaults of the Middle Ages, the lower portion, which projects but slightly from the walls, is built as a solid block of masonry, in horizontal courses, forming an integral part of the wall, and carried up with it; but that the upper portion, which is detached from the wall and covers the space, is of a different and lighter construction, and was erected subsequently to the completion of the walls. This solid part of the vault may be called the "springing block."

Now, it happens that the springing-blocks on the north side of the nave differ from those on the south side, in that only five ribs rise from the abacus in the former, and seven ribs in the latter.

These five ribs are all that are required in vaults of the simple kind, in which there is one transverse rib, with one wall-rib and one diagonal rib on each side of it, making five in all. This is the case in the vault of the north side-aisle of the nave, and it appears that the same simple arrangement was intended for the central vault above, when the north wall was begun.

But in this central vault, for which the date of 1377 is given in our list, an intermediate rib is introduced between the wall-rib and diagonal on each side, making seven ribs in all upon each abacus; and these seven rise together in the springing blocks of the south wall, showing that they were intended when the south wall was built.

As, however, only five ribs had been provided for at the time of building the north wall, a little oggee arch is introduced on that side above the old springing-blocks, which

² Vide *Transactions of the Institute of British Architects*, vol. i. part i. p. 6.

branches from the sides of the wall-rib and diagonal rib, and serves to carry this intermediate rib (w, fig. 5). For it was easier to insert the additional rib on each side by means of the arch, than to attempt to insert it down to the level of the abacus. The same expedient occurs in the choir of Chester Cathedral, where a Perpendicular vault is carried up from a Decorated springing-block. It may be remarked that in the fan vaulting of Gloucester cloister, the ribs, instead of springing all together from the abacus, are arranged so that five ribs only rise from that level. An intermediate rib between each of them is inserted by a little arch, as in Worcester, at a short distance above the abacus, so as to increase the whole number to nine, which, by the same expedient a little higher up, is increased to seventeen, and in the same way again to thirty-three. This vault is a late work of Abbot Horton, who died in 1377. Thus the contrivance which in the last case is employed as a principle of decoration, to avoid the confusion of so large a number of ribs springing from the abacus, is used at Worcester and Chester as a mere expedient to adapt, for the reception of seven ribs, a vault began many years before with five ribs, but was not introduced into the south clerestory, because that was built after the seven ribs had been determined upon.³

The two Pointed Norman compartments at the west end of the nave are covered by a vault, which although at first sight the same as the rest of the central vault, was evidently constructed independently and previously to the latter. Its vault-stones of tufa rest on the back of the ribs, and the back or extrados of the rib is concentric with its soffit, so that the projection of every part of the ribs from the surface of the vault is the same throughout. But in the rest of the central vault, the vault surface is of sandstone, in long pieces, resting on rebates at the sides of the ribs; and the projection of the ribs from the surface is much greater at the lower parts of the vault than at the upper, and differs in the different ribs, the respective curvatures of which are also adjusted in a different manner from those of the former vault.

The transverse rib which separates the western from the

* ³ The same treatment of the springing of a vault rib is used in the vault of Edgar's Tower, and also at the base of

the moldings of the roof of the Guesten Hall (1820).

eastern of these works, receives the ends of the sandstone vault-stones upon its back, so that at this place, these vault-stones rest at their western ends upon the back of this transverse rib, and at the other end, on the rebate, at the side of their rib. This proves that the vaults of the western compartments were the first erected, for they stand complete; but the ends of the other vaults rest upon them.⁴ The workmanship of the latter vault, although perfectly sound, is in the curvatures of the ribs and adjustment of the vault surfaces rough and unskilful.

We may now return to the history of these works. The north porch of the church, which is assigned to the year 1386 in the above memoranda, is appropriated to Bishop Wakefield, in one of Leland's Memoranda in the Itinerary:⁵ "Henry Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester, augmented the western part of the cathedral church of Worcester by two vaults or arches. He also built the north porch of the cathedral."

He held the See from 1375 to 1394, and therefore the date 1386 for the porch in Dr. Hopkins' extracts, is consistent with Leland. With respect to the augmentation of the nave, the older historians of the cathedral, observing that the two western severies of the nave were in a different style from the rest, never hesitated to attribute them to Wakefield, and the more because he is buried in the middle of this part of the church, nearly opposite the first pier. Mr. Wild (p. 7) suggests that the addition of two arches to the nave was made by removing the choir screen, which originally stood at the east end of the nave, opposite the second pier from the tower. This would, no doubt, have given two arches more to the public; but there is no proof that

⁴ These western vaults have seven ribs throughout on their springing-blocks on north and south; and the springing-block on the north side, which divides the compartment No. 2 from No. 3, and carries the transverse rib which separates these vaults from the rest of the central vault, has on the east side of its transverse rib only two ribs, so as to match the other springing-blocks already described.

The system of building vaults with the surfaces resting on the backs of the ribs, was, with very few exceptions, abandoned at the end of the Early English period;

and its retention in these western vaults, in which the ribs have a Decorated profile, may perhaps be accounted for by supposing that this vault is a reconstruction out of old materials. In the north side-aisle of the nave, the Decorated vault rests on rebates at the sides of the ribs, as may be plainly seen on the upper surface under the roof.

⁵ Henricus Wakefelde, episc. Wig.: auxit occident. partem ecclesie cathedr.: Wigorn: 2 arcibus (*duabus fornicibus*, Godwin) erexit etiam porticum ecclesie cathedral: Wigorn. versus Boream.—Leland.

this removal took place in Wakefield's time, and I shall show below that it was really effected after the Reformation. Considering that the Perpendicular work about the nave and transepts was carried on during the prelacy of Bishop Wakefield, it is more reasonable to suppose that he selected the north porch, and that part of the central vault which covers the two western severies, as his especial contribution, in the same way that Cobham vaulted the north aisle. This is more probable because, as in Cobham's case, it places his resting-place in the midst of his work. The term "arcus" may be applied to a vault. Godwin, however, uses "fornix" in this place. The order in which the Perpendicular work was built, according to the above-quoted table of dates, whether they mean the beginning or the end of the work, is—tower, 1374; tower vault, 1376; nave vault, 1377; stalls, 1379; west window, 1380; north porch, 1386. The cloister and treasury will be considered in the second part of this essay.

One of the remarkable and instructive characteristics of this church, is the unity of design that prevails in the severies of the central portion, including therefore the choir and presbytery built in the thirteenth century, the north part of the nave in the first quarter, and the south part in the last half of the fourteenth century. (Vide fig. 5.)

In all three the pier arch has a deep series of moldings; the triforium is occupied by two principal arches, each divided by two subordinate arches, whose outward sides are concentric with the principal arches. The four arches thus produced are open to a gallery in the thickness of the wall, for all these triforia are closed outward by a solid wall, with one small opening to the roof in each severy.⁶ The tympanum space between the heads of the subordinate arches is occupied by richly-sculptured figures. The clerestories have triple openings; the central one higher than the lateral. In the Early English part these openings are separated by single shafts, in the nave by compound piers. This description of the three styles is also very nearly applicable to the two western compartments of the nave. But in them the triforium is much higher in proportion to the pier arches,

⁶ This wall, in the choir and presbytery, is ornamented with arcades visible from below.

and each of its two principal arches is divided into three openings.

The windows of the side aisles and clerestories follow the style of their period. They were triple lancet lights in the Early English, many of which, superseded by Perpendicular insertions, have been restored in the late repairs. In the north aisle of the nave the windows have Decorated geometrical tracery; in the south aisle a kind of flowing tracery, without any decided Perpendicular characteristic.

From the early character of this tracery, and the simplicity of the vault, I infer that the south work of the nave was begun in the middle of this century, and carried slowly on with the casing or rebuilding of the tower piers and arches, and of the arches which open from the east end of the aisles to the transepts. The date 1374 for the tower is probably its completion, and the dates 1376 for the stone vault over the quire under the belfry and over St. Thomas's Altar (which probably stood at the end of the quire), and 1377 for the vault over the nave, mark the covering-in and therefore completion of the crossing space and nave. The transept vault appears later. The windows inserted in the east and west walls of the transepts are of a decidedly Perpendicular character, much later than any work in the nave; and those of the south transept so connected with the vault as to show that they were carried on together, for the ridge ribs of this vault are ingeniously made to spring from the central monial of the clerestory window. The west wall of this south transept has a high Perpendicular window of a singular and clever design, with double monials; the triforium gallery and clerestory gallery of the Norman wall being carried across the front of the window between the monials by bridges, in the manner of transoms.

It thus appears that although the general design of the Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular severies is the same, and probably derived from the Norman, the windows follow the manner of their respective periods. I will now show that the same principle applies to the foliage and management of the capitals, the forms of the arches, the moldings, and other details.

A person stationed in the centre of the nave, so as to turn conveniently from one side to the other, will observe

the following characteristics. The piers on both sides are unusually bulky, their plan a square, set diagonally, with a triple group of attached shafts at each angle, and two intermediate single ones on each side. The front triple group rises without interruption from the common base to the clerestory string mold, which forms the abacus for its vault shafts. The back triple group is assigned to the vault ribs of the side aisles. The remaining shafts support the rich moldings of the pier arch. These characters are common to north and south.

On the north side a rich band of capitals rests on the pier shafts, and sustains the moldings of the arch, which are disposed in groups to correspond with the shafts below, but are placed so as to overhang them; and the foliage also runs continuously round the pier, being inflected around the shafts, so as to distinguish the groups without separating them, and with the richest effect.

On the south side the pier shafts are smaller in proportion. The abacus only is continuous round the pier, for each shaft has a separate capital and neck-mold, the foliage not passing continuously from one to the other; and the moldings are disposed so as to represent distinct ribs, each of the same diameter as the shaft below, so as to appear as if it were that shaft continued through the capital upwards, and ornamented by the addition of a projecting fillet. This character, which distinguishes more or less the Perpendicular style elsewhere, is carried out at Worcester so literally and monotonously as to produce the greatest poverty of effect. The same distinctive differences apply to the respective triforia and clerestories of the north and south sides. The triforia of Nos. 3 and 4 on the north are exactly similar to those of the south; but the clerestories of these later north compartments, although they have the moldings and principles of arrangement of the south side, have their arches of nearly the same form as the earlier clerestories of the Decorated compartments, of which they are a continuation, and are plainly intended to match them.⁷

On the south side the two lateral clerestory arches are perfectly straight-sided, forming a triangular arch whose base is the impost line, and the central arch is nearly so,

⁷ Vide Fig. 5.

being straight-sided from the apex downward, until it nearly reaches the vertical piers, which it joins by a small curve. Such straight arches are to be found in various parts of England, as in the north transept of Hereford Cathedral, in its pier arches, triforium arches, windows—also in the triforium of the north transept of Rochester, &c. ; but these belong to the latter half of the thirteenth century, whereas the clerestory of the south side of Worcester is nearly a century later.

No four-centered arches are employed in the north or Decorated work, but segmental arches are used for the scoinson arches of the aisle windows, and for the diagonal vault ribs.

In the south or Perpendicular work, four-centered arches, with very straight upper curves, are used in the ribs of the central vault, and also in the vault of the side aisle, but are not so decidedly four-centered in the latter.

The pure Decorated compartments on the north side have never been well engraved. Mr. Wild selected a compartment on the north side of the nave close to the Norman work at the west. This is therefore a mixed design, having, as I have explained above, the Decorated pier arch surmounted by the Perpendicular triforium and clerestory, in which the arches are formed in imitation of the previously-built Decorated work at the west. The mixed character of this part of the cathedral has hitherto escaped notice. Mr. Britton selected a compartment on the south side for engraving. Thus the pure Decorated work, which is original, homogeneous, and dated, has been passed over, although greatly superior to the portions selected for publication. It is, however, shown in the perspective view of the nave given by Britton, but its character is not happily given by the artist.

CHAPTER IV.—FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE history of the cathedral since the Reformation may be briefly stated, principally with the help of the sources of information given by Green, whose authority for matters subsequent to the establishment of the Dean and Chapter is excellent.

But as much of this history relates to changes in the

arrangements for the performance of the services, we must first endeavour to ascertain what these arrangements were before the Reformation.

The eastern limit of the Early English presbytery was probably the same as now. At present the high platform of the altar is bounded eastward by a screen, which connects the two eastern piers of the small transept. The structure of Prince Arthur's sepulchral chapel, on the south side, shows that the platform was in that position in 1504, when the chapel was built; for it is ingeniously adapted to that level, and has a door of entrance from it, besides having sedilia provided on its northern face, indicating the presence of the altar.

The shrines of S. Oswald and S. Wlstan were taken down in 1538, and their relics buried at the north end of the high altar. Their original position can only be surmised as follows:—

In 1216 King John was buried before the great altar, between SS. Oswald and Wlstan. This was in the Norman presbytery. It thus appears that these two saints were deposited in front of the high altar, in the same manner as S. Dunstan and S. Elphege in the cathedral of Canterbury, where, in the Norman choir of Conrad, the high altar stood in the centre of the apse, having the bishop's throne to the east, against the apse wall; and immediately to the west of the altar two other altars were placed on the platform, one against the north pier, the other against the south, dedicated to and having the relics of S. Elphege and S. Dunstan respectively deposited in feretra, and this arrangement was preserved up to the time of the Reformation, as I have shown.⁸

Now, it is recorded that Bishop Godfrey Giffard, who died in 1302, constructed at Worcester a magnificent tomb for himself near the high altar, above, or rather beyond, the shrine of S. Oswald, removing for that purpose the body of Bishop John de Constantiis, who died in 1198. But Archbishop Robert issued a mandate in 1302, to remove the tomb to a lower position and place it on the south side of the high altar; also to replace the bones of Bishop John. All this was done.⁹

⁸ Vide my *Arch. History of Canterbury*, pp. 89, 43, 102.

⁹ Wharton, note to p. 497.

This anecdote shows that in 1300 the shrine of S. Oswald was placed, as of old, in advance of the high altar and on the north side, and it seems to show that the high altar was then on the same platform as at present, if we allow that the Bishop, whose tomb is covered by Prince Arthur's Chantry, may have been Godfrey Giffard, as Wild suggests, and which is very probable.¹ For this tomb stands on the level of the eastern transept floor, five or six feet below the platform of the altar, and directly to the south of it, and the chantry is carefully built, so that the vault which sustains its floor shall canopy the older monument without disturbing it. This explains the "*inferiorem locum*," or lower level, to which the Archbishop transferred Giffard's tomb. The pedestals and shrines of Oswald and Wlstan, each with an altar attached to its west end, appear to have been placed, the one to the west of the north-west transept pier, the other to the west of the south-west transept pier. The altar platform probably extended westward to receive them. This platform lies, as the plan shows, outside of the external wall of the crypt. Its site was probably occupied in the Norman times by a Norman Lady Chapel, whose walls may still assist in filling the space beneath.²

As for the choir seats, we learn from Dr. Hopkins' Notes that "The Quire antiently extended westwards to y^e 2^d Pillar below the Bellfry," and that "The Stone Vault over the Quire under y^e Belfry and over St. Thomas's Altar, was made in 1376." The latter memorandum, at least, is manifestly extracted from a mediæval register, and shows

¹ Mr. Bloxam concurs in the opinion that this tomb may be ascribed to Giffard, in his paper on the Sepulchral Remains and Monuments in Worcester Cathedral, reported in the *Gent. Mag.*, Oct., 1862, p. 425. Giffard died Jan. 26, 1301—2.

² The present inclosure is formed by a wall on the north and east sides, which had externally panelling, of which a portion still remains on the north. Mr. Green (p. 60, and Appendix, No. viii. p. xxvi.) records that traces or remains of panelling exactly similar were found on the inside of the east wall. He conjectures that the east wall of the old crypt was originally allowed to remain as the eastern boundary of the choir, and that it showed its circular form between the two great western piers of the small

transept. The extension of the platform to the eastern piers would therefore have been subsequent. But this is pure conjecture, and is contradicted by the construction of Prince Arthur's Chapel.

A fragment of the original inner face of the enclosing wall on the north side of the altar still remained at my last visit. It had served as a pedestal for the monument of Bishop Gauden. The rough representation of Bishop Bullingham's tomb (in Thomas, p. 41), shows another fragment of the same, now destroyed. The enclosure consisted of massive panelling, alternating with a kind of columnar pedestal, the head of which projected like a bracket or corbel to carry a statue. The upper surface, now fully three feet broad, might have sustained monumental effigies.

that the choir seats, to which the word "Quire" is limited, still occupied their position under the central tower in 1376, as the vault over the present quire cannot be that here mentioned.

The numerous examples of Norman churches³ that retained their arrangements when the early plans in Willis and others were made, and still retain them in many cases, show that originally the choir seats were commonly placed under the tower, and that when too numerous to be contained in that space, were extended along one or two arches of the nave.

The arrangement of Winchester is the most applicable to our present purpose, because Winchester, like Worcester, has a crypt under the presbytery or eastern arm of the cross, which raises its pavement eight or nine steps above that of the transepts and nave. But as this crypt does not extend under the tower or nave where the choir stalls are placed, the pavement of the choir is raised by means of a platform of earth to its suitable level, three steps below that of the presbytery, which stands over the crypt.

At Winchester, also, this platform extends into the nave considerably in front of the choir screen, and is ascended from the nave not only by a flight of steps in front, but by lateral steps. It is probable that originally this platform was covered with a vaulted canopy, and that altars were placed beneath it on each side of the choir door.

Such a platform for the choir must have been employed at Worcester, and its existence is attested by the fact that the plinths of the nave piers next to the western piers of the tower are much higher than those of the remaining piers of the nave, indicating a higher level of the pavement at this place.

On the north side of the nave I find the bases of the first three piers, reckoning from the tower pier, are 2 ft. 8 in. in height, and the remainder westward only 2 ft. On the south side the first pier only has a high base, 3 ft. 7 in., and the remainder are 2 ft. 6 in. high. This may also be seen in Wild's section of the cathedral, and a similar rise in the plinths against the choir steps is shown in Britton's plate xi (Winchester Cathedral), which represents the north side aisle and the Norman shaft projecting from Wykham's pier.

³ Thus at Winchester, Peterboro', Hereford, Ely, Chichester, Norwich, Gloucester, St. Cross.

The extension of the choir to the second pier below the belfry, probably includes the choir screen and usual chapels in front, with the steps; but the sudden rise in the height of the plinths being in the work of the fourteenth century, shows that there was no intention of disturbing the platform and seats of the choir when this work was carried out.

It is recorded, as we have seen, that the present vault *over the quire*—*i. e.*, that of the tower—was made in 1376; and also stalls in the quire were made soon after, in 1379. These new stalls were therefore placed in the old position beneath the tower. We hear no more of them until we arrive at an extract from Bishop Blandford's Manuscripts, which tells us that "the ancient stalls remained till 1551" (5 Edw. VI.), "when, with all the choir and the bishop's seat, they were taken down. Five years afterwards, in 1556" (Queen Mary's time), "the choir was removed from the clock-house (or clocherium), to which it had been transferred, the present stalls were set up in the order in which they stand at this time, a goodly loft to read the gospel, and the whole order of the choir restored. At the same time the upper part of it, from the end of the stalls to the foot of the altar, was inclosed with stone grated with iron, and two doors on each side."⁴

The stalls themselves as they now exist—that is to say, the misereres and elbows—are evidently the ancient ones made in 1379. The Renaissance canopies above them, and the other fittings, belong to a later period, and are valuable specimens of woodwork. The taking-down of the old choir in 1551 appears to have been done only for the purpose of shifting the position of the choir from the tower into the presbytery. The platform of the old choir under the tower was then completely removed, and the pavement laid at the same level as the transepts and nave. A long flight of steps was extended from the north to the south gables of the transepts immediately in front of their eastern walls and of the eastern tower piers. This arrangement is shown in the plan given in Willis's Cathedrals, and remained until 1748, when the pavement of nearly the whole church (including the nave, western transept, and choir), with its aisles, was relaid with white stone, the levels and steps of the

⁴ Bishop Blandford's MS., ap. Green.; Bishop Blandford held the see from 1671 to 1675.

transepts and choir altered, and all the sepulchral stones taken away.

The floor of the transept was raised, obliterating the bases of some of the piers, and diminishing others, and two steps were placed at the arches leading from the nave to the transept. Separate flights were placed in the centre of the transept under the tower, and opposite the lateral arches of the side aisles, by which to ascend to the choir pavement, which was now raised eight inches above the old one that still remains beneath. The lower part of the bases of the choir piers was thus concealed.

"There was formerly," as Thomas informs us (p. 9), "a fair stone cross in the churchyard,"⁵ which was the usual preaching place, as at St. Paul's, London. There were also seats for the chief of the city on the north side of the church, but south from the cross, much resembling those of St. Paul's." This cross was demolished in the time of the civil wars, when the cathedral was occupied by the degraded and brutal troops of the Puritans, and exposed to the profane and filthy desecrations and ravages which characterised their treatment of the churches. After the Restoration the delivery of the city sermons was transferred to the nave. The stone pulpit was fixed on the north side of the nave, against the second pillar from the west; and a seat for the bishop, attached to the pier, immediately opposite on the south.⁶ This pulpit was removed to its present position on the north side of the choir in the course of the great repairs in 1748;⁷ and at the same time the ancient font was removed, and a new one erected in the centre of Jesus' Chapel, which had been newly laid open to the nave.⁸ The old font stood against the west side of the seventh south pier, reckoning from the west, and opposite to the altar of St. John Baptist, which stood at the foot of the corresponding pier on the north side of the nave.

⁵ In 1458 (37 H. VI.), Bp. Carpenter and others grant to the Prior and Convent of Worcester certain premises for the use of the sacrist, who is to provide a chaplain to officiate in the charnel-house, and amongst other duties enumerated, "shall read a public moral lecture on the Old or New Testament once or twice in a week, according to the discretion of the Bishop, and shall preach, either in the cathedral, or at the cross in the churchyard, every year on Easter Eve, &c. &c." *Prattington MSS.* v. viii, p. 398, in the

Lib. of the Soc. of Antiquaries.

⁶ Vide plan in Willis's *Cathedrals*, vol. i. p. 623.

⁷ Green, 140, quotes an entry in 1623, Nov. 14, 21, J. 1, from the Corporation books concerning the "paying for and towards making of the newe seats in the Cathedral church," which he thinks alludes to the seats between the east end of the stalls and the altar.

⁸ The first register of its use is dated July 12th, 1770.

The sacrist's lodging was at the north aisle of the choir, and had an oriel window looking into that aisle, which still remains. It appears to have been constructed above a building, corresponding to the south vestries, and apparently extending also over the vaults of the side aisle, the outer wall and roof of which is raised high enough to admit of chambers beneath it. At Durham, for example, the sacrist (called "Maister Sagersten," or "Sexten") had his "*checker*" within the church in the north alley, over against Bishop Skirley's Alter of the lefte hand as you goe up the Abbey to Saint Cuthbert's Fereture,"⁹ being a similar position to his chambers at Worcester. His office was to provide all necessities for the church service, as bread and wine, wax and light, to see to the repairs of the fabric, bells and bell-strings, to lock up the Altar keys, &c. But he slept in the dormitory, and had his meat served "from the great kitching to his checkre," *i. e.*, his *scaccarium*, or *counting-house*, as business offices are more usually called. This sacrist's lodging was not the same thing as the *sacristy*, which is in the "Durham Rites" called the *revestrie* (p. 80), where the priests vested themselves.

We may now briefly consider the history of the repairs of the fabric which have been from time to time carried out since the Restoration. Little appears to have been done at first, except cleansing the church, and repairing or concealing the mutilations and wanton mischief of the Puritans. An altar screen of oak, with Corinthian pilasters, was set up to cover the outraged condition of the ancient altar.

In 1712, substantial repairs were undertaken to assure the stability of the structure, and also to obliterate the ravages of the Rebellion. These occupied three years, and cost a sum of 7000*l.*, part of which was supplied by the Government.¹ The outward walls were cased, the four pinnacles at the corners of the tower were rebuilt. The stone wall connecting the two northern high piers of the eastern transept, opposite to, and corresponding in position with, Prince Arthur's Chantry, was built, in order to support these piers, which were dangerously inclining inwards and towards each other, under the pressure of the pier arches. This wall was ornamented with gigantic quatrefoils.² Arches,

⁹ Rites of Durham, 81.

¹ Vide Green, p. 139.

² This is shown in Wild, plate 12, and is now demolished.

decorated with Italian moldings, were constructed across the south-east transept to sustain its falling walls; and, as I suppose, at the same time the first pier from the tower on the north side of the choir was cased into the extraordinary form which it exhibits at present, having new capitals, imitating the general forms of the old foliage, and its base fortified by gigantic consoles of the Italian form. We may presume, that it must have been in a state of threatening ruin, like its opposite pier on the south side, which is considerably, but not dangerously, inclined to the east.³

The tall spires, which are shown in Browne Willis's view in 1727, on the angles of the presbytery, transepts, and nave, also in Wild's view and in Britton's view, but not shown in Dugdale's engraving, 1672, must have been built about this time, but no record of their building has been found. The sacrist's lodging, shown in the above engraving of Dugdale, which was built against the west end of the north aisle of the choir, was now taken down. It was assigned to the prebendary of the first stall, in the distribution of the houses at the foundation of the chapter by Henry VIII. But that prebendary was now transferred to the substantial house that still stands at the east end of the college green, and which was at this time built for his reception; and the site of the old one enclosed within the wall on the north side of the cathedral, between the ends of the two transepts, and a garden formed upon it.⁴

Another repair, the most considerable since that of 1712 just described, was undertaken in 1748, and carried on for eight years under Deans Martin and Waugh;⁵ in the course of which the north end of the great north transept was rebuilt, with its window and spires, by Mr. Wilkinson, who had just then built the spire of St. Andrew's Church;⁶

³ The entrance to the crypt is shown in the same place nearly in the older plans, but the pavement of the transept was then lower, and the passage was made narrow and thrown near to the tower pier, so that the Norman arch was not inconveniently obstructed. The door to the crypt also was at the bottom of the steps, and no covered passage was over them. This applies to the entrance as arranged in Queen Mary's time. The original entrance was under the arch which leads to the side aisle of the choir, as at Gloucester and elsewhere.

⁴ Green, v. 1, p. 130.

⁵ Green, 140. At this time the passage round the west end of the cathedral was laid open, before which passengers used to convey every kind of burthen through the north porch across the nave to the cloister door.

⁶ Hollar, in 1672, and Dougharty's view, in Thomas, show the form of this north end before the alteration. It had below the great window a smaller one, probably inserted in the arch of a northern doorway.

and the alterations in the pavements and in the positions of the pulpit and font, above described, were carried out.

The great flying buttresses at the east end were erected between 1736 and 1789, these being the respective dates of the two engravings given by Thomas and Green, of which only the second shows these buttresses.

Under succeeding deans, the window at the west end was rebuilt, in 1789, and that at the east end in 1792. The great tower about this time was scaled several inches deep, by which its architectural character was greatly injured.⁷ A new altar-screen and choir-screen was set up in 1812; the tall pinnacles were taken down some time after 1832; and finally, in 1857, the extensive restorations undertaken which are now in progress, under the direction of Mr. Perkins, the cathedral architect.

In criticising these repairs and restorations, it is necessary to recollect that the crumbling material of the cathedral had decayed to such an extent on the exterior as to destroy the whole of the decorative features; and that in the interior, settlements of the piers and arches in the Early English work had attained so alarming a magnitude as to threaten the stability of the structure. Attempts had been made to mitigate these settlements by the introduction of the walls and arches mentioned above, in 1712. But these, beside disfiguring and obstructing the interior, were themselves giving way, having served rather to change the direction of the settlements than to stop them.

The outside of the cathedral had been also overloaded and disfigured by additional buttresses to prop up its falling walls. Most of these have been removed or repaired, and the walls themselves thoroughly and skilfully restored to soundness by renewing the whole of the exterior ashlar, and pointing the interior, resetting it where required. This process has necessarily destroyed all appearance of antiquity in the exterior of the choir and Lady Chapel, but it must be remembered that all the decorative features of the original had vanished long since, and given place to the mean and uninteresting botchings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that we have now a reproduction of its original aspect, as far as that can be determined.

⁷ Vide Wild, p. 14.

In the interior, the bolstering arches and walls of the small transept have been removed, and the failing piers themselves thoroughly repaired. The north-western pier, and the pier arches connected with it, have been entirely taken down and rebuilt. The carved work of the capitals, and bosses and devices in the spandril, have been carefully cleaned under the able superintendence of Mr. Bolton, and only in a very few cases, where the whole had been destroyed, has this carving been renewed. The spandrils of the arcades have been treated in the same manner.⁸

In restorations, there will always be differences of opinion concerning the extent to which the removal of mediæval additions and changes should be carried. My own opinion is always in favour of allowing such changes to remain, as historical monuments, unless there be very imperative reasons for disturbing them.

But in the case we are now considering, the restoration of the parts east of the tower has been carried out upon the opposite principle of replacing all the Early English features, so as to restore the unity of style in the work, which had been disturbed in the fifteenth century by the introduction of Perpendicular tracery into the Early English windows, and especially by the substitution of a magnificent eastern window, which, like that of Gloucester, occupied the entire space of the east wall, and consequently entirely destroyed all traces of the original design of the east front. This new eastern window, the history of which is not recorded, had itself decayed so far, that in 1792 a new one was set up, which Mr. Wild says nearly resembled the one which preceded it, but which was evidently deficient in many essential particulars.

⁸ In the south-eastern transept the subjects of the west and south walls remained perfect, and have been merely cleaned. The spandrils carvings of the east wall had been completely hacked away. Newly-designed spandrils, the subjects of which have been made to follow the general outlines, indicated by the fractured surface, have been inserted.

Along the south wall of the Lady Chapel the old spandrils are perfect, and are left untouched by the modern repairs. So also, with respect to the east wall of the south aisle, and the south wall of the projecting central extremity of the Lady Chapel, except only that a

Rood in the centre of the former, and the central subject of the latter, have been renewed.

From the east wall of the Lady Chapel, arcades and sculpture had all vanished, and are at present all new. Continuing the course of the walls, the short north wall has the original carving, the east wall of the north side aisle has new arcades and carving, the old having been all destroyed. Those of the north wall of the aisle are old and untouched, of the east and north walls of the small transept altogether new, and lastly, those of the west wall old and untouched.

The management of the east end was thus reduced to a choice between a modern conjectural restoration of the great traceried window, and a modern conjectural restoration of the original Early English eastern termination. As the tracery in the smaller windows was also so decayed that it was easier to remove it and restore the Early English lights, for which there was good authority, it is not surprising that it was determined to rebuild the eastern gable in the Early English style.

The design, made by Mr. Perkins, was founded upon the very probable supposition that the original window resembled in composition the group of windows which now remain in the eastern walls of the small transept, substituting only five lights in each tier instead of three, on account of the greater breadth of the wall. This conjecture was corroborated by the existence of walled-up ends of passages from the triforium on both sides, which still remained at the east end of the Lady Chapel, and showed that a gallery was anciently carried across the east gable, dividing it, as in the small transept. I may add, that the interior effect of the window, now finished and glazed with painted glass, is so good, and so entirely in harmony with the original architecture, that the principle of its restoration is abundantly justified.

In conclusion, I may observe that whatever differences of opinion there may be with respect to the course adopted in some parts of these restorations, there can be no doubt as to the constructive skill and conscientious care displayed by the architect in carrying them out, and in boldly undertaking to restore the shattered structure to a state of soundness and stability, by underpinning and rebuilding the failing piers and arches as they required it, and re-setting the ashlar, so as to allow of removing the miserable incumbrances with which the timidity of the last two centuries had overloaded and endangered this noble monument of antiquity.

EXPLANATION OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

Fig. 1, Historical plan of the cathedral:—A, the present position of the altar. The altar before the Reformation probably stood very nearly in the same place.

B, Prince Arthur's Chantry.

a, b, the sites of two earlier monuments on the pavement of the south transept, which is five feet below the level of the altar platform. The chantry was built so as to cover these monuments with an ornamental vault; b, is that of Bishop Gifford, explained in the text, p. 118.

c, the site of King John's monument, "made by Alchurch the sacrist," in the sixteenth century.

D, the dotted line shows the extent of the Norman apse. E, the position of the Norman altar in the centre of it.

The Norman presbytery extended from D to F, and the Norman choir from F to G.

H, the position of Bishop Wakefield's tomb immediately below the two compartments of vaulting which he made.

I, the central Norman door of the west end, of which traces remain.

K K, the Norman lateral doors; the materials of their jambs, &c., were found, in the late repairs, to have been employed in building up the apertures.

L L, two ornamental buttresses, erected in the late repairs to sustain the west front.

M, the burial-place of Bishop Cobham, under the vault of the side aisle, which he made.

N, Jesus chapel, now used to contain the font, removed into it in 1748.

O, Norman archway, opening from the transept to the chapel, N, now called the vestries, of which arch the eastern part has been always exposed to view; the western was opened during the visit of the Archaeological Institute in 1862.

P, a similar Norman archway in the wall of the north transept, walled up because the chapel, Q, to which it gave access, is entirely razed to the ground; the foundations of its crypt wall and apse still remain below ground.

R, chapel known as the vestries. From the south-west corner of this, a door and staircase lead up to the treasury, erected in 1377, which is partly sustained by its own walls at S, and partly by the Norman vaulted passage at T.

V V, steps leading down from the choir aisles to the lower level of the eastern transepts and Lady Chapel.

W W, settlement indicating the junction of the two parts of the building, as explained at p. 101.

C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, are fragments of Norman work in the walls of the later buildings, which show the extent and plan of the Norman building, as explained in the text, p. 91.

P, Q, R, S, T, V, in the transepts, are the respond shafts of the Pointed Norman, engrafted into the Early Norman walls. Of these, S, T, V, are exactly the same as those of the western arches of the nave, as at M, for example; P, Q, R, are rather later.

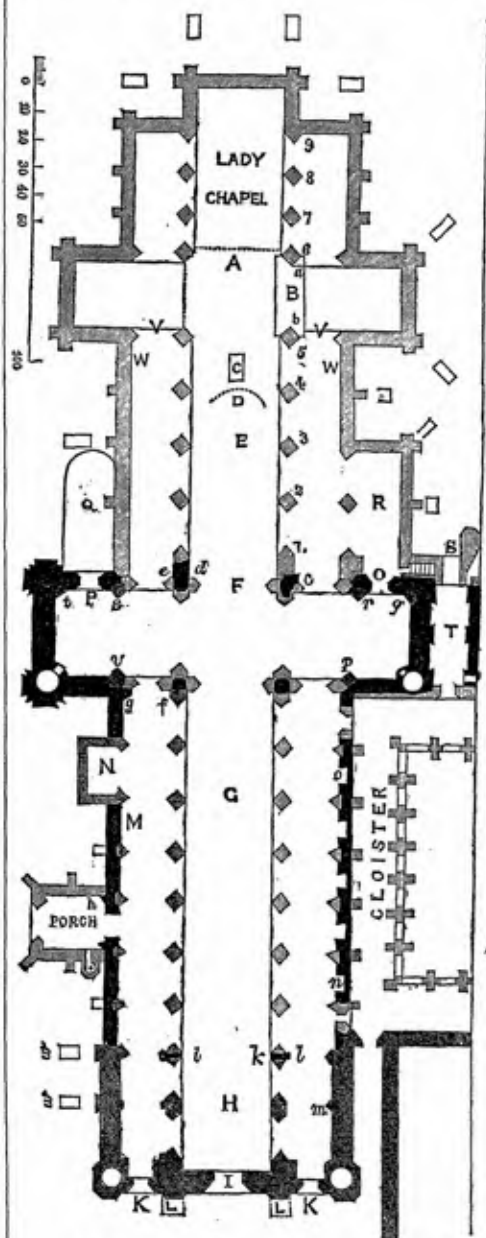


Fig. 1. Historical Plan of Worcester Cathedral.

- First Norman.
- Second Norman.
- Early English.
- Decorated.
- Perpendicular.

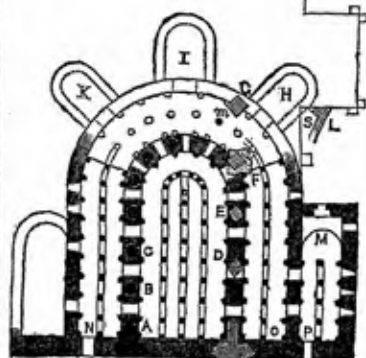


FIG. II PLAN OF THE CRYPT

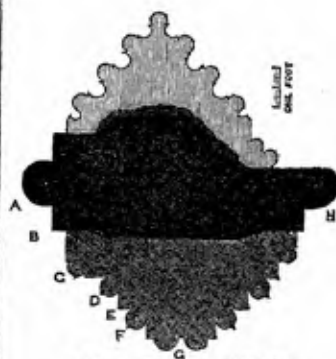


FIG. III PLAN OF PIER K.I.

The blank rectangles on the outside of the cathedral, as at *ww*, indicate the position of the piers of flying buttresses, erected to prop up the failing walls.

The piers of the choir and Lady Chapel are numbered in order in this plan from 1 to 9. The plans of these piers are of two kinds: the one, similar to the choir piers of Salisbury, has a central column, the plan of which is in the form of a quatrefoil, and is encompassed with eight detached shafts. The other has an octagonal central column, worked with various moldings, and, like the other, encompassed with eight detached shafts. I will designate the former plan by *s*, and the latter by *o*, in the following table, in which the piers that have brass rings are marked with *B*, and those which have marble rings with *M*.

Plan of Pier.	S	S	S	O	O		O	S	O	O
Pier number in Fig. 1..	1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	9
Material of Ring	M	B	B	B	M		M	B	M	M

The piers marked *s*, in the choir, have the plan of the body exactly in the form of a quatrefoil of four lobes, meeting in a nook, as at Salisbury. But in the pier marked *s*, in the Lady Chapel, the lobes of the quatrefoil join by a continuous line. As the junctions of the lobes are concealed by the surrounding shafts, one of which stands opposite to each, the general appearance of the two piers is the same.

Fig. 2, Plan of the crypt:—In this plan I have, on the northern half, shown the position of the Norman piers, as *A*, *B*, *C*, which must have stood upon the solid parts of the wall. On the southern half of the plan, I have shown the present piers, of which *D* stands partly over the archway, and this has occasioned it to be walled up. *E* is on the solid wall. *F* stands partly on the curved wall of the crypt, but principally on a block of masonry, shown in the plan, which block can be seen under the arch of the apse, and at the end of the south aisle at *F*. The curved aisle of the crypt, beyond *F*, is blocked up. *G*, the south-west pier of the small transept, stands partly upon the crypt wall. *m* is the pillar, which I examined through a breach in the pavement, and thus ascertained that the vaults of the curved aisle remain, in part at least, below the pavement. *H*, *I*, *K*, are the conjectural positions of chapels, in accordance with other examples. At *L*, some foundations were discovered, lying at an angle with the walls of the choir, as shown, and having the base of a small pillar *in situ*, at *s*. Beneath the angle of the transept, opposite *s*, the jamb of a Norman window was found, with an angel painted upon it. This painting was faithfully copied, but unfortunately no plan was made of its exact position with respect to the crypt, nor were the excavations sufficiently extended to enable the nature of these remains to be made out. The intermediate pillars of the crypt rest upon a continuous foundation-wall, which is shown in the plan, and which follows the curvature of the apse. The central row of pillars rests upon a similar wall, which is continued eastward until it meets the last-mentioned wall.

N, O, the ancient entrances to the crypt.

P, the present entrance, which was probably made when the choir was removed from its original position. The original access to the crypt was like that of Gloucester, where a double flight of steps placed under the arch which opens from the transept to the side aisle of the choir, leads on the one hand upwards to that aisle, and on the other downward to the crypt.

Fig. 3, Plan of the pier, *k*, *l*, on the south side of the nave, to show its compound structure (vide p. 94, and Note 5, p. 95).

Fig. 4 is an elevation in outline of the interior north side of the nave, and part of the choir, tinted to show the distribution of the styles of architecture, as explained in the text, p. 110.

The crypt is shown, with the arches in the wall that sustains the piers. A is the portion of Norman wall which retains the springing of the pier arch and triforium; B, C, are outlines of the Norman piers which stood on the solid parts, E, F, of the wall below. D is an Early English pier, placed over the void part of the wall below, the aperture of which is accordingly walled up with rubble.

G is the old Norman shaft (*i*, Fig. 1), corresponding to its opposite, A, B, in Fig. 3.

H, the place of the transverse rib, which separates the western vault from the later eastern, as explained at p. 112.

Fig. 5, Outline in block of the north and south severies (except the Pointed Norman work at the west end).

A, pier arch, common to all the north severies.

B, pier arch, common to all the south severies.

C, D, the Norman arch in the side wall.

E E, half of the Decorated triforium in the severies from 5 to 9.

F F, half of the Perpendicular triforium in the severies from 3 to 4.

G G, the Perpendicular triforium of the south side.

The capitals of E E embrace the whole of the molded piers, just stopping short of the centre of the middle pier. In F F, and G G, they are confined to a small shaft in the middle.

In E E, and F F, the hoodmold rests on carved bosses, at each end; but in G G, the centre only, where the two hoodmolds meet, has a boss, and the extremities of the hoodmolds abut against the vault-shafts. This difference is also found in the hoodmolds of the pier arches, A and B.

H, I, half of the Decorated clerestory in 5 to 9.

J, K, half of the Perpendicular clerestory in 3 and 4. Here again the capital of the little Decorated pier embraces it; but the little Perpendicular pier is treated in the same manner as the small piers in the triforium below, and have a small shaft and capital in the centre, omitted in the drawing on account of its small scale. The arches, I, are Pointed. The arches, J, are four-centered.

L, M, the Perpendicular clerestory on the south. This differs from those on the north in the form of the arches, L and M, which are very nearly triangular, as the drawing shows. The little piers are treated as in J, K, but the triangular arches have no hoodmolds.

In the tympanums, e, f, are the remains of sculptured figures. In g, only a corbel remains in each. Figures have been placed upon these, carved by Mr. Bolton, in the late restoration.

The construction of the vault of the north severies is shown at N W.

First Norman.
 Second Norman.
 Early English.
 Decorated.
 Perpendicular.

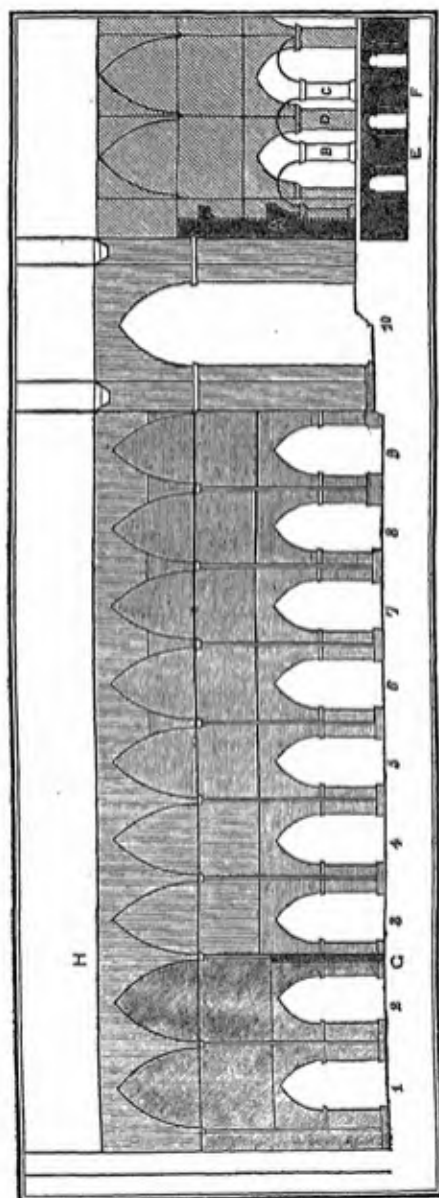


Fig. 4. Elevation of north side of Nave, with part of Choir and Crypt.

N, O, P, is the springing block of masonry which is built solid with the walls, and is constructed with horizontal joints from N to O. But the upper stone, O, P, has its upper surface cut into beds that are inclined at the proper angle to receive the lower surface of the voussoirs, of which each of the ribs, from the level of P upwards, is formed in the manner of an arch.

Q is a transverse rib: R, a diagonal rib: T, a wall rib. These three only are contained in the springing block, and thus rise together from the abacus, at N.

S is an intermediate rib between the diagonal and wall rib, which terminates downwards in an ogee arch, W, whose legs branch from the sides of the diagonal and wall rib respectively.

In this vault the dotted line, R, V, of the outer curve, or *extrados* of the ribs, where the vault surface rests upon them, is not parallel to the soffit of the ribs, and the variation differs in the different ribs.

The bases are of different heights, as explained at page 120.

The apices of the transverse and diagonal ribs, Q, R, are at the same level, the longitudinal ridge rib being horizontal; but the apex of the wall rib is considerably lower, and thus the transverse ridge rib descends from the centre to the clerestory wall.

Additional Note to page 112.

The recent scraping has shown that the north side of the nave was built in two successive portions, beginning from the east end, which abuts upon the north-west tower pier; the bases of the three eastern piers are higher and coarser than those of the remaining piers to the west. The two eastern compartments of vaulting, with the vault of Jesus Chapel, differ from the rest of this side aisle vault, the vault of the former being of red tufa, and of the latter of red sandstone; and the ribs of the former are in alternate green and white voussoirs, but the latter are wholly green. As Bishop Cobham lies under one of the latter vaults, we may attribute that portion of the work to him. As the transverse rib which separates these two different vaults is built of alternate voussoirs, and therefore makes the eastern portion complete, it is clear that the latter was first built.

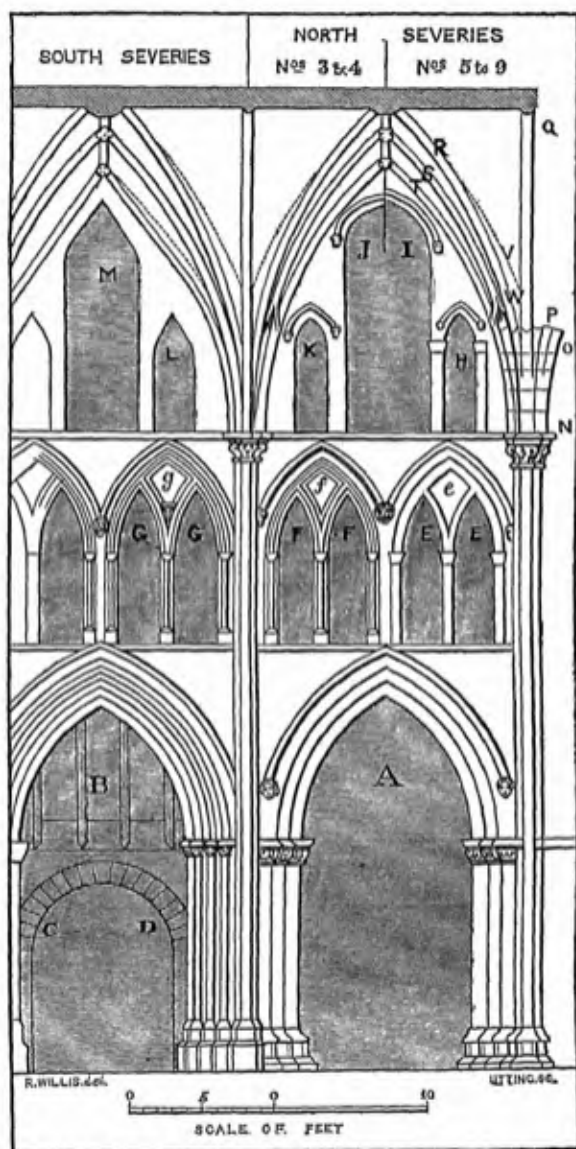
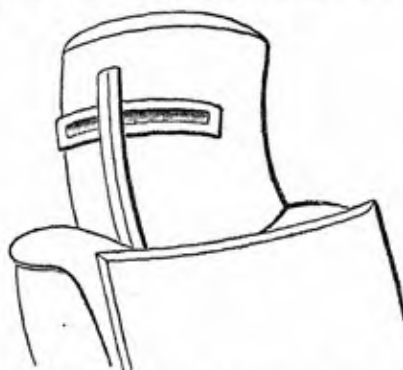


Fig. 5. Comparative Elevations of Nave.

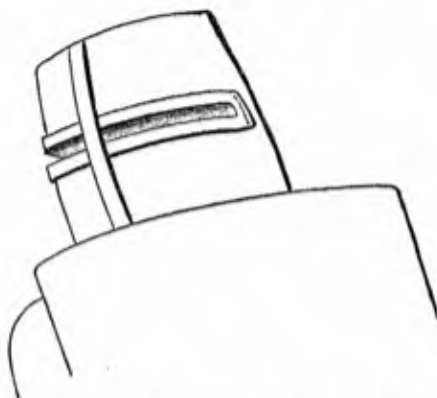
HELMS FROM SCULPTURED EFFIGIES AT FURNESS ABBEY.

BEING at Furness Abbey in the month of June of this year, I observed the two monumental figures from which these two helms are copied lying on the east side of the choir. The statues are a good deal broken, but not so much as to leave any doubt either of their age or mode of arming. The helms being the only portion of the figures of any



interest, they only have been drawn. The body-armour of both knights is entirely of interlinked chain-mail; of that kind which is so clearly shown on the Trajan Column, though, with a curious perverseness, some persons still talk about "edgewise mail," a monstrosity that never existed. As seen in one of the sketches, a surcoat overlies the hauberk, leaving the arm free, and both figures carry the usual triangular shield of the time. This period seems to be the first half of the thirteenth century. The effigies are of life-size, and there can be no doubt they were originally painted. Indeed, it is from the painting of the shield only that an identification of the figures could have been obtained, irrespective, of course, of any inscription that may have been added on the tomb. This is the most curious feature in the type of monument before us, that there is no personality in the

memorial—it is altogether a knight in the abstract. The question often mooted, whether medieval monumental effigies were intended to portray the person commemorated, or



whether they are to be regarded as simple testimonials of affection, supplied as our wreaths of *immortelles* are at the cemetery gate, receives considerable light from these figures. Such monuments might clearly be kept on hand by the sculptor, and the finishing stroke given to the order by painting the knight's arms on the shield. This does not, however, militate against the fact that in particular instances of eminent persons a careful portraiture may not have been attempted. No one, I think, can look at the statue of Queen Eleanor, of Philippa of Hainault, or of Richard II. in Westminster Abbey, without feeling convinced that the "lattener" in these cases did his best to give us the true features of the departed sovereigns. We may therefore fairly conclude that both methods were in use : that, where the defunct was of a powerful family, and portraiture could be obtained, a likeness was required in the funeral monument ; and that, where the person to be commemorated was of little distinction, or his portrait not obtainable (or peradventure his heirs not very anxious about the matter), a general representation of knight, abbot, or burgomaster was considered sufficient.

Several monumental figures of this impersonal kind are to be found in different parts of the kingdom. One, at Staindrop, Durham, is engraved in Stothard's Monuments. Three others in the same county are given in Surtees's History.

Another is drawn in Powell's Lincolnshire Collections, now in the British Museum, Add. MS., 17,462, fol. 71; this is a statue in Kirkstead Chapel; and another will be found in Hollis's Monumental Effigies, part i., from a tomb at Walkerne, Herts. This type does not occur, I think, in Germany, at least, there is no example in Hefner's comprehensive work. He gives, indeed, the kind of helm here seen, it is not, however, from a monumental sculpture, but from the statue of a watcher at the sepulchre of our Lord, and it is there displaced from the head. See part i., plate 4.

It will be observed that the outlines of the two helms at Furness differ considerably. The one is of equal breadth throughout, while the other tapers towards the crown. The curious curving form of the first is strikingly illustrated among the sculptures of the Early English arcade on the south side of the Presbytery at Worcester Cathedral. The crown in both the examples before us is slightly ridged fore and aft. The vertical bars, it will be noticed, are not of equal length; and one is ridged while the other is flat.

In manuscript illuminations representing this type of armament, we occasionally find the incognito of the warrior so far compromised that we are enabled to catch a glimpse of his eye; but this point does not appear to be ever conceded in a mortuary statue. The annexed group, representing a



sword-fight between two knights of the thirteenth century, armed cap-à-pie, furnishes a good example. It is from Roy.

MS., 12, F. xiii., fol. 42. The knights being completely armed in steel, and also having shields, it does not appear what final gain could accrue to either party by their belabouring each other with the light weapons which they carry.

"As easy may'st thou the intrenchant air
With thy keen blade impress, as make me bleed,"

may each exclaim to the other in reference to the contest. Indeed, having come down so far as Shakespear for an illustration, we may be permitted to descend another century or two and see in the picture before us the contention at present carrying on between the North Americans and the Confederates. To revert to the thirteenth century, we perceive clearly from the nature of this battle how needful it was for the heroes of that day to resort to the ponderous axe.

The manner in which the head was armed with its hood of mail, before the flat-topped helm was donned, may be seen in the figure on folio 219 of Roy. MS., 2, A. xxii., and again in Hefner's Costumes, part i., plate 4.

Varieties of the flat-topped helm will be found in the seals of Henry III. and Edward I., of Alexander II. of Scotland, of Hugo de Vere and Robert Fitzwalter, in the glass-picture of Ferdinand of Castille, the figure on fol. 27 of Harl. MS., 3244 (all engraved in "Ancient Armour," vol. i., pp. 278, 299, 307, and 339); and again among the groups of the Painted Chamber, as reproduced by Charles Stothard in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, the Lives of the Offas (Cotton MS., Nero, D. ii.), and the real example figured in this Journal, vol. viii., p. 420.

J. HEWITT.

ON AN INSCRIBED STONE COFFIN-LID IN THE ANCIENT
CEMETERY OF THE TEMPLE CHURCH, LONDON.

LAST year (1862), when the ground on the north side of the Temple Church was cleared of buildings, and the surface of it lowered, six stone coffins were discovered, all more or less imperfect. They have been repaired, and are to be seen, looking like raised tombs, on the same spots, I believe, on which they were found. Only one has any inscription. This coffin was very much broken: the lid, which tapers from head to foot, is six feet nine inches long, and has a segmental moulding down the middle. Across the sinister side of the lid (heraldically speaking), very near the top, are incised the words—

PHILIPPVS
HILARIO

in rather rude and irregular characters, forming two lines; and on the moulding, just opposite the former word, is the letter T. (See woodcut.) The other side of the lid, for



about half the length from the top, has been repaired with plain stone. A cast of the inscription is preserved in the Treasury-office of the Middle Temple. When this was shown me, in a bad light, before I had seen the original, I thought

the T, which is not quite perfect, might have been an F for *Frater*; but as it was on the moulding, I could not account for its singular position. On examining the stone itself some days after, I saw clearly that it was a T, and recollecting that there was, at the probable date of the coffin, a family of the name of Saint Hilaire, or St. Hilary, connected with the Earls of Hertford and Arundel, it has occurred to me, that the T is the final letter of the word IACET, and that the inscription when entire was—

+ HIC IACET PHILIPPVS
DE SANCTO HILARIO.

Such a formula was not uncommon about the year 1200; and when this completion of the inscription is once suggested, it appears so probable, that I think most of those who are conversant with sepulchral memorials of the period will be likely to acquiesce in it. However that may be, what remains of the inscription hardly leaves us in doubt as to the name of the person commemorated having been, when written in Latin, Philippus de Sancto Hilario.

I will therefore add a few words as to who he was. Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford, who died in 1173, married Matilda, daughter and heiress of James de S. Hilaire. She survived him, and married William de Albini, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1222 according to Dugdale, or according to others in 1196, having, it is probable, survived her. James de S. Hilaire was a Norman, and derived his surname from the *commune* of S. Hilaire du Harcouet, near Mortain. I learn from Mr. Stapleton's Preface to vol. i. of the *Rotuli Normanniæ*, p. lxvi, that this James had a brother Peter, who had four sons, the youngest of whom was Philip. Some of the family held lands in this country. The daughter and heiress of an elder, if not the eldest, brother of Philip, was a ward in 1180, in respect of lands in Normandy. Philip and his brothers were thus first cousins of the Countess of Hertford and Arundel; and it is not improbable that he may have lived till about 1200. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any further mention of him. But since, so far as I can discover, there was no other family named S. Hilaire, or St. Hilary, resident in or connected with this country in the twelfth or thirteenth century, it is highly probable that this Philip was the Philippus de Sancto Hilario whose coffin has been recently

brought to light.¹ As a younger son, he may have had a small share of the family estate, according to the Norman custom of partition, and depended on his sword for the increase of his means. The Temple Church, in its original form, was consecrated in 1185; which will agree with the supposed date of the interment. It by no means follows from his having had sepulture in the Templars' cemetery, that Philip de S. Hilaire was a Knight Templar, or even an Associate of the order, though he may have been either one or the other. Several persons were buried in their church, who do not appear to have been in any way connected with them.

I have been induced to bring this inscribed coffin-lid to the notice of the Institute, because it is exposed to the weather, and the letters, some of which are rather obscure, may in a few years become wholly illegible; add to which, I am not aware of the inscription having been before explained, or in any way noticed in any publication. It is on the third coffin from the church porch, and is easy of access for those to inspect it who are curious in such matters.

WESTON S. WALFORD.

¹ Other members of the family are mentioned in the records of this country, viz., Hascnyl, or Hasculf, Rot. Chart. I. p. 181; Peter, Rot. Norm. in Turri, pp. 29, 126, Rot. Lit. Claus. I. p. 12, Cal. Rot. Pat. pp. 152 b, 153; Stephen, Madox'

Exch. 304 n. b.; Bartholomew, Rot. Lit. Pat. p. 162; Henry, Rymer I. p. 211, Rot. Hund. II. p. 133. Hasculf was probably a brother, and the others may have been nephews, of Philip.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES MADE IN A TOUR IN WESTERN
GERMANY.¹

HEIDELBERG, CARLSRUHE, STRASBURGH, AND TREVES.

By J. O. WESTWOOD, M.A., &c.

FROM Darmstadt, a two hours' journey by railroad brought us to Heidelberg. Here the famed castle claims the attention of the Archæologist, as does also a remarkable specimen of domestic architecture of the *Renaissance* period, opposite to the great bridge; it is now known as the "Gasthaus zum Ritter," a short notice of it was published by Mohr in 1862. It was built by Charles Belier of Tournay, in 1572. The University Library is rich in illuminated MSS., one of the earliest being one of the three copies of Otfried's Paraphrase of the New Testament,² a MS. of the ninth or tenth century, with large rude capitals in the interlaced style terminating in dragons' heads. An Evangelistarium deserves notice, which appears to have been executed in the eleventh century, although it has been assigned to the ninth, of which period it possesses the style. It is in fact precisely similar in many respects, especially the capital letters, to the Darmstadt volume previously described.³ It contains a miniature of our Lord seated and in the act of benediction, similar to that in the Darmstadt MS. copied by Hefner as a female figure, with a companion drawing representing a female saint crowned and holding a cross, which has been assigned to St. Helena, but which, notwithstanding the cross and crown, I should rather regard as the Virgin Mary. Hefner gives the dresses as certainly Roman, but the drawing is entirely Byzantine in design and execution, the outlines being black or red, and the shading of the face and hands greenish, as in the oldest illuminated MSS. The crown, ear-rings, necklace, and cross; which is supported on a long thin stem held in the hand, as in the small crucifixes employed in the Greek Church, are Byzantine, and the circular ornamental frame of the miniature is an evident imitation of a Byzantine mosaic. A copy of this curious miniature is given by Hefner in his

¹ Continued from vol. xix. p. 235.

² Cod. Palat. Vatic. no. 52; written
A.D. 889. See Nouveau Tr. de Dipl.,

tom. iii., p. 126, pl. xl.

³ Arch. Journ., vol. xix., p. 230.

Trachtenbuch, pl. 13. Here are also several good Greek MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, but without miniatures. I noticed in this library a fine copy of the *Rolandlied*, a MS. of the twelfth century with outline drawings; the knights have helmets with nasals, and the bishops low triangular mitres. Several of these illuminations have been published by Kugler.⁴ Several other early German MSS. are interesting, both for the language and art of the period, especially a MS. of the "*Welsche Gast*," of the thirteenth century, with many small miniatures,⁵ and one of the code of Saxon Laws (*Sachsenspiegel*) written in Low Dutch, about 1218, by Eike Repgow; the drawings in this MS. are very rude but characteristic. A charming missal of Franco-Flemish art of the early part of the fifteenth century, which belonged to Madame de Pompadour, is here shown as a great curiosity, as are also various writings of the German Reformers, including the Articles of Faith and a Commentary on Isaiah written by Luther.

Another journey of two hours brought us to CARLSRUHE, attracted by the fame of the collection of manuscripts in the Royal Library, chiefly brought from Reichenau, a monastery founded by some of our early missionaries, and which are still preserved in their original condition. Among them is one of the most splendidly written copies of Bede "*De temporibus*," with tables and computations, and another of Priscian, of equal beauty. There are several others by Anglo-Saxon or Irish scribes, one of them ornamented with a few rude attempts in outline drawings of birds and animals, in the usual interlaced Irish style, with elongated necks and bodies, fac-similes of which have been published by Silvestre.⁶ The library also contains a copy of the Gospels of the twelfth or thirteenth century, preserved in its magnificent original silver-gilt binding enriched with chasings and precious stones.

In the museum attached to the palace there are a few interesting ivory carvings, one representing the Ascension; another portrays our Lord standing beneath an arch, holding a cross. There is also a portion of an ivory cup with a representation of a farm and laborers.

⁴ *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i.; see also Hefner, *Trachtenbuch*, pl. 45.

⁵ See Hefner, pl. 40, and Kugler.

⁶ *Paléographie*, plates 220 and 221;

also by Purton Cooper, in the *Additions to Appendix A. and its Supplement*, plates 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Our next halting-place was STRASBURGH. A description of the cathedral and its wonderful mechanical clock⁷ does not fall into the plan of these notes; and, as it unfortunately happened to be vacation time, the library was closed, so that I missed seeing Herrad von Landsperg's famous illuminated MS. described by Dibdin,⁸ and of which an elaborate account was published by C. M. Engelhardt, with twelve copper-plates in folio, containing fac-similes, but uncolored, of many of the illuminations, which are of the highest interest for the history of German art, costume, religious thought, manners and customs of the twelfth century.⁹ Another manuscript of a still earlier period is also here preserved, containing copies of Canons of the Church, written in the eighth century in Gallican uncials and minuscule letters, but having the title-page in capitals, commencing with a large initial I, with interlaced ribands, in the Lombardo-Saxon style. This title is remarkable for the series of dates which it contains, as follows:—"In nomine scē et uniq' trinitatis. In anno DCCCLXXXVIII. quo Dñs noster ihs xps pro salute mundi nasci dignatus est et in anno XVIII regnante Domno nostro gloriosissimo adq' excellentissimo Karolo rege francorum adq' Langobardoru seomultarū genciū ac Patricius romanorū. Ego itaque Rachio humilis xpi servus servorū Dī adq' omniū catholicorū acsi peccator gracia Dī vocatus Eps Argentoratinsis urbis in anno v Episcopati mei pro salutem anime meae remediū vel p̄ eterne retributione in amore Dī et scē Mariæ Argentoratinsis urbis ecclesie hec libro canonum continentem in se doctrinam scōrum recte vivencium patrum scribere jussi."

This inscription occupies twenty-six lines, alternately in red letters, black letters, and black letters on a yellow ground,

⁷ Since the time when Dr. Dibdin wrote his *Bibliographical Tour*, in which he states that this clock was out of order, it has been repaired, and a new cock has replaced the old one formerly struck with lightning, at the top of one of the pinnacles. The clock is a marvellous piece of mechanism at least twenty feet high.

⁸ The volume contains a number of Latin hymns and similar rhythmical compositions; the commencement of one on the fall of man is here given as a specimen—

Die quadam,
Dum stat Adam

Domo delectabili,
Venit ater
Necis Pater,
Vultu cum terribili.

Et ad Evam,
Stans ad levam,
Inquit voce debili,
Audi me, mulier, quæ dicam facito,
De fructu comede tibi prohibito;
Sic eris ut dominus, non hoc ambigito.

⁹ Herrad von Landsperg, Aebtissin zu Hohenburg oder St. Odilien in Elsass, im Zwölften Jahrhundert und ihr werk, "Hortus deliciarum." 8vo. 1818. Stuttgart and Tübingen.

constituting one of the most remarkable pages in these early volumes.

Count Bastard has considered this MS. of sufficient importance to devote four of the plates of the palæographic portion of his great work to its illustration. One of the Canons commences as follows :—"In nomine dñi. Habita sinodus in Toletana urbe post d̄ kalendarum novembriū ep̄s xvi. anno septimo Recesvinthi gloriosissimi principis, in Basilica sc̄æ mariæ semper virginis, era DC LXVIII." One of the gold crowns found near Toledo and now preserved at the Musée des Thermes, at Paris, bears the name of Reccesvinthus, who was king of the Goths from 653 to 675. It has been described in this Journal.¹ The capitals throughout the volume are in the rude Lombardic particolored style, and formed of fishes, foliage, &c.

We observed, whilst looking at the singular "Witches' dance," as the series of drolleries on the north side of the nave of the cathedral (figured by Dibdin) are popularly called, that one of the houses opposite the north-west end of the cathedral is extensively ornamented with sculpture, in which was a number of musical performers; the instruments on which they are represented as playing form a very interesting series, illustrating this branch of art during the middle ages. On the outside of the cathedral, at the south porch, is a fine pair of statues representing the church and synagogue (executed by Sabina, the daughter of Erwine de Steinbach, the architect of the cathedral who died A.D. 1318), in the usual style of thirteenth century MSS., the banner of the latter being broken, and her crown falling off. An enormous figure of St. Christopher, with the infant Saviour on his shoulders, also attracts much attention.

A very interesting architectural museum has been established in connection with the works of the cathedral, in a building in the south-west part of the great square in which it stands, and which contains a remarkable spiral stone staircase. Here are collected many fragments of Roman and early Christian sculpture, tombs, &c., found in the city and cathedral, as well as the machinery of the old mechanical clock, including the shattered gigantic cock above alluded to. Probably the most interesting object here preserved is a large stone coffin

¹ Archæol. Journ. vol. xvi. p. 254.

of the ninth century.² It is of oblong form with a coped top; the sides ornamented with a row of seven rounded arches, beneath which on one side are sculptured—1, a man riding on a fish; 2, an ornament; 3, a bishop kneeling; 4, the Saviour; 5, an angel; 6, a foliated ornament; 7, a man strangling two dragons. On the other side are figures representing a bishop and a female saint, and foliated ornaments. At each end is also a foliated ornament. On the lid is inscribed in capital letters, some of which are conjoined together or of a small size, and occasionally one is placed within the open space of the adjacent letter,—ADELOCHUS PRÆSUL AD DEI LAVDES AMPLIFICANDAS HANC EDEM COLLAPSAM INSTAURAVIT DCCCXXX.

In the church of St. Thomas a very beautiful incised slab to a priest, dated A.D. 1418, is affixed to the inner wall of the church. The pulpit here is magnificent. The tower of the church of St. Peter still retains a relic of the middle ages, namely, a cresset affixed to the angle near the top by means of a moveable iron bar, capable of swinging round and allowing the cresset to be lighted at the tower window. This church is also remarkable, the interior being divided into two equal portions; the western portion being used for the Protestant, and the eastern for Roman Catholic service, at the same time.

From Neustadt to TREVES, the railroad passes through much picturesque scenery, including the banks of the River Saar, to its junction with the Moselle. The Treves station is on the north-western side of the river, and the traveller crosses the old Roman bridge, in the centre of which is erected a large crucifix, to reach the city, the north-east and south-west entrances of which are defended by gates, the former being the grand Roman *Porta nigra*, a description of which does not fall within the object of these notices; it has been denuded of the rubbish which concealed much of its lower portion.

Neither do the fine remains of the Roman baths, nor of the amphitheatre, here require notice, although these, with the Roman basilica, cathedral, and other churches render Treves one of the most interesting cities in Europe, and now that the Luxembourg railroad permits easy access, it will

² The tomb has been figured by Messrs. Cahier and Martin.

doubtless be more visited than it has hitherto been by archæologists.

Over the southern gate of the city is a striking piece of sculpture of the thirteenth century. In the centre is a noble figure of the Saviour, standing, with outstretched arms, holding an open book in his left hand. On the left side stands St. Peter, holding the keys, the wards of which form letters, P and E, supported on long stems, a peculiarity I have occasionally noticed in MSS. On the right side stands St. Eucharius in episcopal robes, bare-headed, holding a model of a church in his hands. Round the arch is inscribed "TREVERICAM PLEBEM DOMINUS BENEDICAT ET URBEM;" and below, "SANCTA TREVERIS."

The claim of this city to very high antiquity is asserted in an inscription upon the old Town Hall, now the "Rothe Haus," used as a large hotel, in the great square, whereon we read,—

"Ante Romam Treveris stetit annis mille trécentis,
Perstet et æterna pace fruatur. Amen."

The house itself is not older than the middle of the fifteenth century, but the inscription is probably a reproduction of a much earlier one.

In the middle of the square is a cross of the Maltese form, affixed at the top of a tall cylindrical shaft of granite, surmounted by a capital ornamented with Romanesque foliage: in the centre, on one side, is a figure of the holy lamb supporting a flag in a circle, a small rosette with leaves fills each open space of the arms of the cross. The edge of the cross has on one of its vertical sides a small figure of St. Peter holding a large key, and round the capital is inscribed—"Henricus Episcopus Treverensis me erexit,"—in commemoration, as it is said, of the appearance of a fiery cross in the sky seen in A.D. 958.

The cathedral of Treves is one of the most interesting buildings in Christendom, having formed part of the palace of the Empress Helena, who converted portion of her residence into a church, supported in the centre by four immense granite pillars, three of which still remain *in situ* in the centre of the body of the church, but the fourth having given way, now lies at its west entrance. Under the careful and intelligent direction of the Canon von

Wilmowsky, the entire detail of the church and the modifications it has undergone at different periods have been ascertained, and openings made in the outer coatings of the walls and columns in different parts, showing the original Roman work. This learned canon had the courtesy on my first visit to show me his invaluable collection of drawings illustrating the architectural details of the cathedral; on my second visit he was still more serviceable in affording me opportunities of examining and copying some of the singular manuscripts belonging to the chapter. The *Annales Archéologiques*, tom. xii. and xiii., contain elaborate accounts of the architecture of the church, and many of the details are represented in Gailhabaud's fine work.

The western doors have two massive bronze handles; those of one door are plain, but in the other pair the centre is formed of a lion's head supporting the ring; around the outer circle on one valve of the door, is the inscription—" + MAGISTER NICOLAUS + ET MAGISTER IOHANNES DE BINGIO NOS FECERONT"—in ornamental Lombardic capitals, whilst on the other handle the inscription is as follows—" + QUOD FORE CERA DEDIT, TULIT IGNIS ES TIBI REGDIT." The makers of these handles are known to have resided at Bingen on the Rhine.

Within the cathedral there are several interesting pieces of sculpture of Byzantine character. The tympanum of the great door, now blocked up, which led from the south aisle into the adjoining "*Liebfrauenkirche*," contains an excellent group representing the Saviour, seated, with the right hand raised in the act of benediction, and the left hand holding the Gospels. On the right side, St. Peter stands, holding a large key and a book; and on the left side, the Virgin—or possibly St. Helena—stands with elevated hands, the cathedral being dedicated to these two saints.

The design of this sculpture is entirely Byzantine, and its date is probably of the eleventh century. The door is three times recessed, the capitals ornamented with classical foliage and frets.

Both on the north and south side of the choir (within the aisles) are several very interesting series of arcades, the pillars of some of the columns resting on crouching lions, and the spaces beneath the arches on the north side with rows of statuettes of the apostles, also of good twelfth-cen-

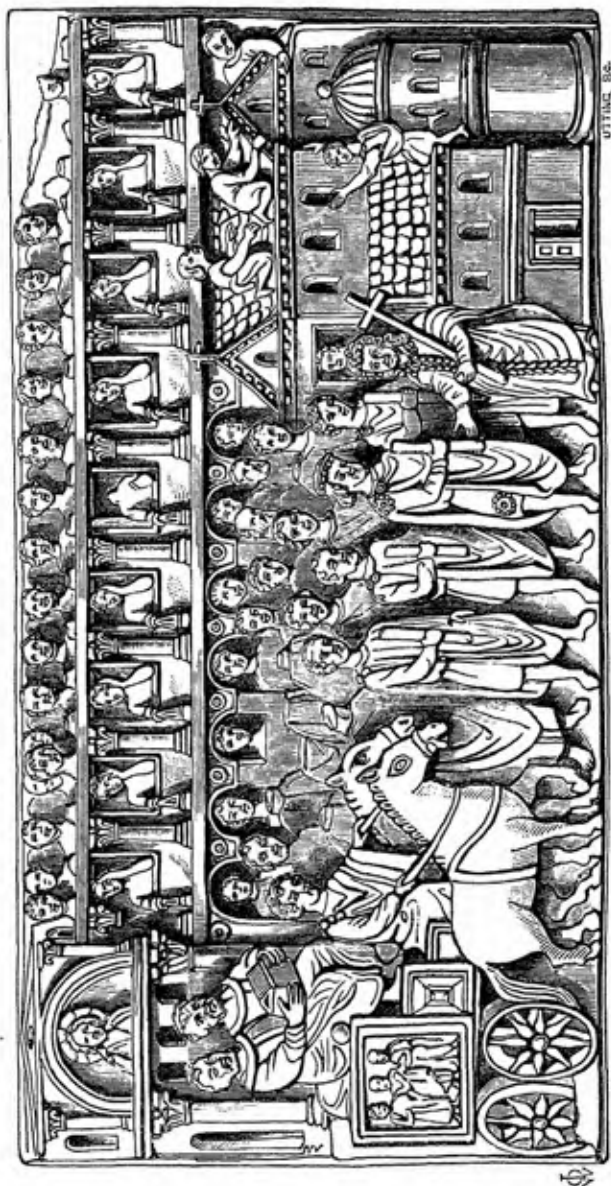
tury work.³ Near the south entrance to the choir a beautiful arch, elaborately carved with foliage and animals in the twelfth-century style, has been cut through. Between the western doors a semicircular apse has been carried out, the western choir being raised over a crypt, in which, during my visit, a well was discovered. The cloisters on the south-eastern side of the church are of very early date, and have been lately carefully restored; in the centre of the enclosed garden is a mass of broken columns and Roman masonry collected from the ruins of the former church. A very early wall painting, unfortunately much defaced, has been discovered on the south side of the wall separating the western chancel from the body of the church, it consists of two rows of figures, of the twelfth century: a bishop is represented in one of the scenes, wearing a low triangular mitre.

The objects of art belonging to the chapter are, at the present time, in the custody of the Canon von Wilmowsky, who resides in a house adjoining the cathedral. Amongst these, one of the most interesting objects is the ivory carving representing the reception of the holy relics by the Empress Helena, in Byzantine costume, who, bearing the cross, stands at the door of the Basilica with its rounded apse, the two ends of the building being ingeniously represented in false perspective. (See woodcut on a reduced scale). The procession is headed by a crowned prince, who may be considered to be Constantine himself; the shrine containing the relics being borne by two aged priests in a chariot entering beneath an arch, on the tympanum of which the bust of the Saviour is sculptured. The figures are deeply carved, and the heads of many of them have been broken off. This extremely interesting ivory, now for the first time described and figured, must, I think, be referred either to the period of Constantine himself, or to that of Charlemagne when so great an impulse was given to sacred art.

There are here also several MSS. of the Gospels, very interesting on account of their illuminations, notices of which have been given by Kugler⁴, and by Waagen in his *History of German Art*. These are chiefly of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but the special object of my inquiry was a copy of the Gospels of an earlier period, written, partly at

³ The Canon von Wilmowsky informed me that their date is about 1150.

⁴ Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. pp. 337—343.



Sculpture in Ivory preserved at the Cathedral of Treves.—Reception of the Holy Relics by the Empress Helena.



least, in a fine Hiberno-Saxon hand, very similar to that of the Gospels of St. Cuthbert written at Lindisfarne at the end of the seventh century, and which induces me to give a date not later than the beginning of the ninth century to this volume, which is of a large quarto size. On the first page we read, quite *more Hibernico*—

Scribtorī vita eterna,
 Legenti pax perpetua,
 Videnti felicitas perennis,
 Habenti possessio cū salute.
 Amen. Dō grācias,
 Ora pro me, Ds tecum.

surrounded as usual by red dots. On the *verso* of this first page are seen the four evangelical symbols occupying the open spaces at the four angles formed by a cross, in the centre of which is a bust of Christ, young and beardless, with a nimbus not crossed, and holding a large book in his right hand. The figures of the "*vitulus*" and "*aquila*" are quite similar to those in several Irish MSS. of the Gospels, such as that in the Paris Library; the "*homo*" and "*leo*" are, however, much better drawn. The ornaments of the border and divisions of this page are formed of interlaced ribands.

At the end of the introductory preface (*Plures fuisse, &c.*), is another and much more remarkable drawing of the evangelical symbols conjoined into one figure, the upper half of which represents—also in the Irish style—an aged man, with the arms crossed on his breast holding an object in his right hand, which looks like an open flower with eight petals, and in the left hand a knife, probably such as is still used in the celebration of the Eucharist in the Greek Church. The feet of this symbol of St. Matthew appear at the lower part of the figure, but the intervening space is occupied by the wings and claws of the Eagle of St. John, two of the legs and feet of the Lion of St. Mark, and two of the legs and hoofs of the Ox of St. Luke. The whole is enclosed in a border composed of interlaced riband work extended outwards at the angles and terminating in the heads of lions and eagles. At the foot of this page is inscribed—THOMAS SCRIBSIT. Then commences the prologue, "*Novum opus*," in large Hiberno-Saxon letters, the N. being quite in the style of St. Cuth-

bert's Gospels, but the two lines—"Beato papæ Damaso Hieronimus"—are in Gallican capitals, and it is very curious that throughout the volume these two hands alternate, sometimes even on the same page.

At the end of this prologue there is another remarkable drawing, representing full-length figures of St. Michael and Gabriel, Byzantine in style, but with their names inscribed in fine Hiberno-Saxon letters. These figures support an inscription resting on a pedestal—*INCIPIT EUANGELIUM SECUNDUM MATTHEUM*—formed of angulated Irish capitals upon a purple ground.

The Eusebian Canons follow, executed in a very remarkable manner; the writing of these canons is entirely Hiberno-Saxon; the columns, capitals, and arches are ornamented in a classical or Byzantine style, but in the fourth canon the bases of the columns exhibit the peculiar Irish spiral pattern. In the centre of each arch is a finely painted miniature of the bust of a saint, the first being St. Peter with the keys. The hand of each figure is elevated in the act of benediction, in the Latin manner, but, in the fourth canon, in the Greek way. The second canon has the name "Thomas" repeated at the sides of the medallion containing the bust of the saint, and in the last canon but one, a pair of well-drawn parrots are represented.

Then follow the interpretations of names in double columns, as is the rest of the volume, commencing—"Abraham, pater videns populum." The first five lines are in fine Hiberno-Saxon letters, but the remainder in the Gallican hand. The next page contains a full-length figure of St. Matthew, in a highly ornamented border, exactly resembling that of the miniature of this evangelist in the Paris Gospels, of which a figure will appear in my work on Anglo-Saxon Art. The next page commences the "*Liber Generationis*," in fine Hiberno-Saxon hand, the large initials occupying the top of the first column, just as in the Paris Gospels copied by Silvestre and Champollion. The figures of St. Mark and St. Luke are very remarkable, and quite unlike any other MS. which I have hitherto seen; they are represented standing, each having his symbol at his side, drawn in a most curious manner: thus the ox of St. Luke resembles a bird on the wing, holding a book in its fore feet, the evangelist also holding a book resting upon a large ornamental

wrapper. The "Incipit euangelium secundum Lucam" is inscribed in fine Hiberno-Saxon letters beneath the ox, and at the foot of the page again appears the signature—"Thomas scripsit."—The miniature of St. John is unfortunately wanting.

The church of Our Lady, which joins the cathedral on its south-west side, is one of the most elegant Early Gothic buildings in existence. It is built in the shape of a Greek cross, each angle between the arms of the cross being occupied by two circular chapels, and is supported by twelve columns. An early inscription on a column near the entrance of the church states that "Die Bau dieser Kirche ward angefangen im Jahr 1227, und geendigt im Jahr 1243," the numerals being of an early form. The font is of bronze, and vase-shaped, but around its foot a serpent is coiled. There is a fine painting by Guido in the sacristy. The western entrance is ornamented with well-sculptured scenes of the life of the Virgin, coeval with the erection of the church, with two large statues on each side of the entrance; one of these, on the right side, represents the Synagogue, as a female with the crown falling from her head, her eyes bandaged, and the tables of the Law turned upside down; on the left side is seen another female figure, representing the *Ecclesia* triumphant.⁵ One of the other pair of figures is remarkable, probably representing a priest, but having two ornaments on the breast of the chasuble, seemingly representing the bronze lion-head handles of the cathedral door. There is also a fine sculptured representation of the crucifixion, with St. John and the Virgin at the sides of the cross, placed at the top of the west front of this church, and executed in the thirteenth century.

In the porch of the church of St. Gengulphus, in the market-place, is a large plain bronze font of circular form, with two rows of inscriptions in characters of the twelfth century which I was unable to decipher, the font being fixed in a corner. Over the clock of this church is the appropriate inscription—"Vigilate et orate."

St. Matthias' Church is remarkable for its architecture, portions of which are very early, but it has undergone much alteration, and the eastern end has been pulled down and

⁵ Similar figures occur at the sides of the western door of Notre Dame, Paris.

rebuilt of a reduced size. The roof is panelled, with ribs and bosses, and colored like that of St. Jacques at Liege in white and blue stripes, the bosses forming rosettes, the larger ones down the middle with half-length figures of bishops and saints, and the instruments of the passion, highly illuminated. Gigantic wax candles several yards high, profusely ornamented with many-colored ribands, are fixed upright all round the Lady Chapel, being votive offerings. A curiously ornamented capital of the eleventh or twelfth century is affixed to one of the columns on the south side of the nave, at the side of a small altar, and converted into a holy-water vessel. The crypt contains several large plain altar tombs with slightly coped tops, let into the walls. Half of the chapter-house at the north-east angle of the church has been destroyed, the exposed space being now used as part of the burial ground. On the outside of the nave, on the north side, is a curious piece of sculpture fixed in the wall; the upper half represents the Annunciation, treated in a singular manner. The Virgin is seated in a raised chair in the centre; the Almighty appearing in the clouds over her head, upon which a dove rests; the twelve apostles are seated in a row beneath, one of them holds a book inscribed with the Angelic Salutation.

The Basilica is one of the most perfect Roman buildings on this side of the Alps; it formed a portion of the Palace of Constantine, and is of noble proportions, the walls being more than 90 feet high and 10 feet thick, the brickwork beautifully executed: the adjacent ground having become gradually raised, it has been necessary to open a wide area, several yards deep, around it: the structure is oblong in form, with a rounded apse at the north end. It consists of nine bays, with a double row of windows placed at equal distances. It is now used as a Protestant church for the military. The organ-loft is over the entrance at the south end, and the northern end is raised so as to form a *sacrarium*, with a communion table of white marble beneath a gilt *baldachino* of classical design, with a large gilt cross having the bust of the Saviour painted at the intersection of the arms, and a large candle on each side. At the back is the monogram—XPS—with the Alpha and Omega. The pulpit and reading-desk occupy the places of the ancient *ambones* in front of this raised part. The latter rests on an eagle

and is inscribed—"Im amfang war das wort," Joh. i. 1—with a candle on each side. In the interior very little color is employed, except in narrow Mosaic patterns around all the windows, and a narrow band below the upper row of windows. The men here occupy the east or right side of the church, and the females the west or left side. This arrangement is reversed at Xanten, on the Rhine. A great number of texts in the German language are inscribed on bands running beneath and round the windows. Over the Communion Table is Apoc. c. v., v. 7, and Matth. c. xi., v. 28.

The Town Library at Treves is of considerable extent, containing nearly 100,000 volumes and many valuable MSS., amongst which the most important is that known as the Golden Gospels, given by Ada, sister of Charlemagne, to the Abbey of St. Maximin, at one time one of the richest of Benedictine monasteries, but now converted into a barrack. This fine MS. is written throughout in large golden uncial letters, closely resembling the *Codex aureus* in the Harleian collection; the initial letters of the Gospels are, however, of smaller size, that of St. Matthew only occupying the upper part of one of the two columns into which each page of text is divided, the others being simple and unornamented. Each gospel is preceded by a figure of an evangelist, very similar to those in the Harleian MS., and also in the contemporary Gospels at Abbeville; from these and several other MSS. there seems, in fact, to have been a set of figures which were employed indiscriminately for the different evangelists, the same figure being introduced without distinction for one or another of the evangelists. The MS. bears the following poetical inscription at the beginning:—

"Hic liber est vitæ, paradisi quatuor amnes,
Clara salutiferi pandens miracula Christi,
Quæ prius ob nostram voluit fecisse salutem,
Quem devota Deo jussit perscribere mater,
ADA ancilla Dei, pulchrisque ornare metallis.
Pro qua quisque leges versus orare memento."

Whether the decorations "*pulchris metallis*" mentioned in these lines, are those which form the present gorgeous covering of the volume is perhaps doubtful, although some of the precious stones, and the magnificent cameo displaying a

representation of an imperial family with the eagle,⁶ are doubtless portions of Ada's gift. In addition to this central cameo, the binding contains representations of the evangelists with the heads formed of those of their respective symbols, a rather uncommon treatment; also with four figures of saints, three of which are bishops with nimbs, and one represents St. John holding the cup.⁷

Here is also another copy of the Gospels, a MS. of the eighth or ninth century, bound in two volumes, (Nos. 1307, 1308), of very large size, written in a strong Lombardo-Saxon hand, with large initials formed chiefly of interlaced ribands in the Franco-Saxon or rather Lombardo-Saxon style. It contains the following verses, from which it would appear to have been written by or under the directions of Albinus, the name employed by Alchuin in the Caroline MSS. :—

“ Suscipe Rex parvum magni modo munus amoris
 Quod tuus *Albinus* obtulit ecce tibi.
 Magna ferunt sæclo gazarum dona potentes,
 Fert mea pauperies ista minuta duo,
 Ne vacua in sacris venisset dextra diebus
 Ante piam faciem, Rex venerande, tuam.
 Nomina sc̄orum signavi s̄a parentum,
 Hebr̄ma depromens ore latino tuo.
 Fer mea carta mea supplex munuscula domno,
 Corpore premodico viscera magna gerens.”

The *Chartularium Prumiense* is another remarkable volume, consisting of charters, &c., of the Abbey of Prum, a famous monastery north of Treves; it contains at the beginning a genealogy of the Emperor Pepin and the “Carlovingers.” The covers are quite unique, consisting of plates of gilt metal incised with figures and letters. On the front cover in the centre above is represented the Saviour, seated, young and beardless, but with a cruciferous nimb, holding on his knees an open book thus inscribed—

EGO.	ME
DELI.	DI
GEN.	LI
TES.	GO.

⁶ An account and figure of this cameo will be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 419.

⁷ The binding of this volume, together

with St. Luke and the beginning of St. Matthew's gospel, is rudely copied by Ramboux in his recently-published work on illuminated MSS.

from which extends a scroll inscribed, "Venite benedicti Patris mei." The hands of the Saviour are outstretched towards full-length figures of "Pippinus Rex," who offers the model of a large church, and "Karolus Imperator," who offers a book. Beneath are four full-length figures holding scrolls or charters to the Saviour, intended for "Ludovvicus Rex," son of Charlemagne, "Lotharius Rex," "Ludovvicus Rex," and "Karolus Rex," the three sons of Louis I. Round the margin is inscribed—"Hæc est generatio quærentium Dominum, quærentium faciem Dei Jacob."

The first page of the manuscript contains a drawing of the Emperor Ludovicus offering a volume to Pope Nicholas I. (A.D. 858). Both are seated on cushions, the emperor with the sceptre in his left hand, and the pope robed in his vestments; the latter is nimbed, and wears a conical cap divided by three transverse bars; the emperor also wears a low conical cap broadly truncated at top.

In respect, however, to the history of art, the most interesting manuscript in the Treves library is that of the Gospels of Egbert, Archbishop of Treves from A.D. 975 to 993. This is a volume of moderate quarto size, remarkable for the number and beauty of the illuminations, of which there are not fewer than seventy, as well as for the place of its execution, which was the monastery of Reichenau near Constance, founded originally by missionaries from the British islands. The volume, however, offers no trace either of the Hiberno-Saxon or of the later Æthelwold style of art. At the commencement of the volume the archbishop is represented seated on a cushion resting upon a cross-legged stool with lions' heads and feet; he is archiepiscopally robed but with bare head, at the back of which is a square nimb. He holds a pastoral staff in his left hand, terminated at top in an ornamented whorl. On either side below stands a monk, offering a volume to the archbishop, whose name—EGŪTUS TREVEROR' ARCHIEP̄s—is inscribed in golden letters above, and the names "Keraldus" and "Herib'tus" "Augigenses,"—indicate the monks as belonging to Augea or Reichenau. The drawing is enclosed in a remarkable purple border, with arabesques and monsters relieved with gold. To this succeed four pages containing figures of the evangelists, beautifully drawn and colored by a different hand, exhibiting considerable Byzantine feeling; the ground of

these miniatures is also purple, diapered in various patterns with golden lines and dots in a very effective and unique manner. The text is illustrated throughout with miniatures, in which the figures are quite classical in design, and the coloring very harmonious, a great proportion of white being introduced, the ground also of the drawings being formed of pale colors, much mixed with white. I have selected one, of which an outline is here given, representing the miracle of the swine, both in order to show the style of the drapery, the folds of which are generally drawn with great skill, and also as giving a remarkable treatment of a subject of which another representation has been given in these Notices from one of the Darmstadt ivories.⁸

Tracings of several of the miniatures of this remarkable volume have been published by Ramboux.

The large initial letter at the commencement of the volume is exquisitely illuminated, precisely in the style of the Darmstadt and Heidelberg volumes mentioned above ; and at the commencement of the volume are inscribed the following lines :—

“ Hunc EGĒTE librum divino dogmate plenū,
Suscipiendo vale, nec non in sec'la gaude,
AUGIA fausta tibi qūe defert p'sul honori.”

Several other illuminated works of minor interest are exhibited in table cases, which also contain a large drawing of St. Gregory and his attendant scribe, with a page of inscription in golden letters upon a purple ground, indicating that it was also executed at Reichenau in the time of Archbishop Egbert, and which appears to me to be unquestionably by the same hand as the miniature of the Emperor Otho in the possession of Mr. Robinson of the Kensington Museum.

Attached to the Town Library is one of the few remaining old-fashioned museums, in which all kinds of curiosities were crowded together,—objects of all branches of natural history, ceramic ware, Chinese tea-pots, German jugs, and glass vases, carved woodwork, coins, tapestries, &c., in delightful confusion. A few carved ivories are here to be seen, the most interesting being a small piece representing a procession of Roman soldiers on foot and horseback, with

⁸ *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xix. p. 234.



The Legion of Devils cast out into a Herd of Swine.

Illumination in the *Evangelarium of Egbert*, Archbishop of Treves, 975 to 993.
From the original in the Town Library at Treves.



round shields and spears, preceded by a senator on horseback. This sculpture is possibly of the classical period. There is also a small scene of the crucifixion, of unusual design, similar to an ivory in the Maskell collection now in the British Museum.

The interior of some parts of the *Porta nigra* has also been converted into a museum, in which the greater portion of the stone monuments of the Roman period discovered in and around Treves are collected together. The majority of these monuments are of course of pagan origin, but amongst them are a considerable number of very interesting early Christian monuments and inscriptions, several of which are given by M. de Caumont in his "Cours d'Antiquités monumentales."

Of a later period there is a small stiff figure of Christ, standing with the right hand raised, and giving the blessing, *more Latino*, the left hand holding a book with an inscription. The general character of the sculpture closely resembles that of the row of saints on the north side of the choir in the Cathedral, and the small figures of saints on an ivory casket in the Douce collection, and others at Darmstadt. The nimbus is cruciferous. There is also another mutilated figure, probably of a saint. Both of these were brought from the ruins of St. Maximin's Church, and both are most probably of the tenth or eleventh century.

An inscribed Roman milestone is also here preserved. The decorations in the interior of the *Porta nigra* over some of the windows are evidently of the seventeenth century, and in the *rococo* style.

(To be continued.)

ON THE EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT, WITH A HORN, IN PERSHORE
ABBAY CHURCH, WORCESTERSHIRE.¹

By MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM.

IN the south transept of the ancient conventual church of Pershore is the sepulchral recumbent effigy of a knight, armed cap-à-pie, placed on the lid of a stone coffin, which, with the coffin beneath, was found about twenty-five years ago in the burial-ground on the north side of the church. This knight is represented armed in a hooded hawberk of rings set edgewise, a piece of the coif de mailles, under the chin, being thrown back and not fastened; this is a triangular lappet of mail; over the hawberk is worn a sleeveless surcoat; the surcoat is long, but the drapery well disposed and belted round. The thighs are covered with chausses of ring mail; the lower parts of the limbs are gone. A heater-shaped shield, suspended from a guige crossing over the right shoulder, is affixed to the left arm. The sword appears on the left side. The glove of mail attached to the sleeve of the right arm is thrown back at the wrist, so as to show the right hand uncovered; this is represented as grasping a horn. From the absence of any portion of plate armour this effigy may fairly be assigned to about the middle of the thirteenth century, the reign of Henry III. The only peculiarity about it is the horn.

In treating of this effigy we must compare it with others on which horns are represented; these are few in number; I only know of two. Incised memorials, however, in which horns occur, are less rare. Mr. Haines mentions several, *Manual of Monum. Brasses*, vol. i., p. cxxix.

In the Charter of the Forest made in the ninth year of the reign of Henry III., A.D. 1225, and confirmed in the twenty-first year of the reign of Edward I., A.D. 1299, it is provided as follows:—"Our rangers (*regardatores*) shall go through the forest to make range as it hath been accustomed at the time of the first coronation of King Henry our grandfather (*i. e.*, Henry II.), and not otherwise." And again,—"So many foresters shall be assigned to the keeping

¹ Communicated to the Section of Antiquities, at the Meeting of the Institute in Worcester, July, 1862.

of the forests as reasonably shall seem sufficient for the keeping of the same."

In Wadworth Church, Yorkshire, in the neighbourhood of Doncaster, there is the highly interesting sepulchral effigy, somewhat mutilated, of one whom I take to have been a forester. He has the curled moustache and beard as worn in the fourteenth century. He is not represented as a knight in defensive armour, but his habiliments consist of a tunic or coat reaching to the calves of the legs, with close-fitting sleeves, the *manicæ botonatæ* buttoned up from the elbows to the wrists, the coat is belted round the waist by a girdle buckled in front, and from thence the skirt falls in puckered folds. The shoulders, breast, and neck are covered by the *caputium* or hood, which is also drawn over the head, the tippet or extremity of the hood falling down; on the feet and legs appear the hose, or, as they were anciently called, hosen. The hands are bare and conjoined on the breast, as in prayer. From a narrow belt or baldrick, crossing diagonally from the left shoulder to the right hip, is suspended a hunting-horn, whilst on the left side hangs a baselard or sword, probably the *couteau de chasse*, affixed to the girdle, with a small round buckler in front of the guard. This dress would probably have been described in the fourteenth century in an inventory or will as *tunica cum manicis botonatis, caputium, zona, braccæ*.

There could hardly be a better illustration of the description of the squire's yeoman given by Chaucer than this effigy:—

" And he was clad in cote and hode of grene,—
And by his side a sword and a bokeler,—
An horne he bare; the baudrik was of grene,
A Forster was he sothely as I gesso."

Cant. Tales, Prologue, v. 103.

There is no inscription to indicate the person this effigy was intended to commemorate; there can, however, be little doubt that he was a ranger or forester.

In the churchyard at Newland, Gloucestershire, is a high tomb of the fifteenth century, in which lies the recumbent effigy of Junkyn, or Jenkyn, Wyrall, ranger, warden, or forester of the Royal Forest of Dean. He is represented as attired in a short coat or jerkin belted round above the hips, the skirts of which reach only to the thighs, with a short sword,

baselard, or couteau de chasse, suspended from the belt on his left side; from another belt, crossing the front of the body diagonally and coming over the left shoulder, is appended, on the right side, a short hunting-horn. His lower limbs are enveloped in close-fitting hose, with boots on the feet; the head is bare, and the hands conjoined in front, as in prayer. The date of his death is 1457, as appears from the following inscription on the south side of the tomb:—

“Here lythe Junk. Wyrall Forster of fee the whych dysessed on the viij. day of September, in the yere of ovre lorde M.CCCC.LVII. on hys soule god have mercy. amen.” (Figured in Nicholl’s *Forest of Dean*, p. 200.) The word which has been read “September” is very questionable; it may be—*Synt Laurec’*. The octave of St. Laurence was August 17.

In the middle aisle of Chaddesley Corbet Church, Worcestershire, there is, says Nash, a stone inlaid with brass figures of a man and his wife; over his head in an escutcheon, two forked arrows in saltire; over her head, a hunter’s horn stringed; the inscription:—

“Orate pro animabus Thomae Foryst’ parcarii de Duncient Park et Margaraetae uxoris ejus et omnium parentum suorum. Quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen.” At the four corners the four evangelists.

No date is given, but this slab may, I think, be assigned to the later part of the fifteenth century. The person commemorated is described as the park-keeper or forester of Duncient. The horn and arrows show his calling; the latter, forked or bifurcated, were the hunting-arrows of that period. I have a similar one found in Leicestershire. Two have been figured, *Arch. Jour.*, vol. ix., p. 118.

Lysons, in the *History of Cumberland* in the “*Magna Britannia*,” p. xciv., notices, in the tower of Great Salkeld Church, placed over a fireplace, an incised gravestone or slab with a cross flory, on one side of which is a sword and girdle, on the other a bugle-horn. The inscription, in Lombardic characters, is too much obliterated to show for whom this memorial was intended; enough remains to indicate that he was an official of the forest of Englewood. . . E INGELVOD. This slab appears to be of the fourteenth century.

With respect to the effigy at Pershore, Nash supposes, from the horn hanging from the belt, that it might denote that the

person represented was a ranger, or had some employment in one of the neighbouring forests. If this was the case the memorial would come under the class of those rare monuments of foresters or forest rangers which I have described.

There is, however, another view in which this representation of a warrior in defensive armour, with his hand on the horn, may be considered, a view which I think has not hitherto been entertained. Judge Littleton, the famous English commentator of the fifteenth century, whose remains lie buried in the cathedral of Worcester, and whose works will not easily perish, observes in his *Treatise of Tenures*,—

“Also they which hold by escuage (that is, service of the shield) ought to do their service out of the realm, but they which hold by grand serjeanty (for the most part) ought to do their services within the realm.” And Coke in his commentary upon Littleton, in his gloss on this passage, observes,—“For he that holdeth by *cornage* or castle-gard holdeth by knight’s service, and is to do his service within the realm; but he holdeth not by escuage; and therefore Littleton materially said, Tenant per Escuage and not Tenant by Knight’s service.” Again, to quote Littleton:—“Also it is said that in the marches of Scotland some hold of the king by *cornage*, that is to say, to wind a horn to give men of the country warning when they hear that the Scots or other enemies are come, or will enter into England, which service is grand serjeanty. But if any tenant hold of any other lord than the king by such service of *cornage*, this is not grand serjeanty; but it is knight’s service, and it draweth to it ward and marriage, for none may hold by grand serjeanty, but of the king only.” Coke, in his gloss on this, says:—“Per *cornage*, *cornagium*, is derived (as *cornuare* also is), à *cornu*, and is as much (as before hath been noted) as the service of the horn. It is also called in old books, *horngeld*. Note, a tenure by *cornage* of a common person is knight’s service, of the king it is grand serjeanty; so as the royal dignity of the person of the lord maketh the difference of the tenure in this case.”

I think that I have adduced enough to render it probable that this effigy represents one, neither forester nor ranger, but who held lands by *cornage*-tenure or *horngeld*; whether by grand serjeanty or by knight’s service, must be left for further consideration.

Original Documents.

WRIT OF HENRY III. RELATING TO CERTAIN DISORDERS IN
THE REALM SUBSEQUENT TO THE PARDON OF THE NOBLES
WHO HAD TAKEN PART WITH THE EARL MARSHAL. DATED
JUNE 6, A.D. 1234.

From the Evidences of George Alan Lowndes, Esq., of Barrington Hall, Essex.

Communicated by the late WILLIAM CLAYTON, Esq.

THE incidents to which the following document relates are connected with a memorable crisis in the eventful period of the reign of Henry III., a reign, with one exception only, of longest duration in the annals of our sovereigns, and chequered with many discordant conditions alike in political and in social affairs. The youthful prince, whose succession was disputed by a dangerous and powerful competitor, in a position replete with jeopardy to his inheritance and his person, was mainly sustained for a brief interval through the wise counsels of the Regent, William, Earl of Pembroke. On his untimely decease in 1219, when Henry had attained only to the age of twelve years, the regency fell into the hands of the ambitious Peter de Roches, Bishop of Winchester, a native of Poictou, a prelate scarcely less energetic in military command than in the subtle influence which for many years rendered the weak-minded king the passive instrument of his selfish ambition. Amongst the arbitrary acts of that wily alien, Henry was so effectually imbued with distrust of his nobles, that they were dismissed from posts of influence and power; the reins of government and the command of the royal strongholds were committed to foreigners. The unshaken loyalty of noble hearts, such as the distinguished Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, and other faithful servants of the crown, was sorely tried. Richard, Earl Marshal, son of the Earl of Pembroke who had been so instrumental in seating Henry III. on the throne, had been disgusted by the favor shown towards Peter de Roches and other foreigners; he made an urgent appeal to the king to reform abuses, and thus aroused their enmity. Having had notice that an attempt was about to be made to seize him, the Earl Marshal fled to Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and having mustered a considerable force, made a raid with him into the territory of the king, burned Shrewsbury, and carried off a valuable booty. Henry seized the castles and possessions of the Earl, who, with his brothers and the other proscribed nobles, retaliated, and ravaged the country with hostile aggressions. After a short time the Earl was enticed to Ireland, where he had extensive possessions, and he was there betrayed by some of his followers. After a gallant defence he was wounded and captured on April 1, 1234, and died in prison a few days after. Shortly after this event, through the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, his brother Gilbert, who succeeded as Earl Marshal, and also his two other brothers, Walter and Anselm, with their

friends Gilbert Basset and Richard Seward, came over to the king, and were restored to favor. Having been summoned to meet the king at Gloucester, they were then admitted to the kiss of peace on May 28, 1234, and their lands were restored to them. On Whitsunday, June 11, according to the contemporary narrative of the monk of St. Albans, Roger de Wendover, Henry bestowed the *cingulum militare* on Gilbert Marshal at Worcester,—“tradens ei virgam marescalciæ suæ, sicut eam antecessores melius et liberius habuerunt.” The king likewise admitted into his household and privy council the Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, Gilbert Basset, and Richard Seward.¹ The disaffected nobles having been reconciled to the sovereign, recalled their adherents, designated in the following document *inprisii*,² sharers in the emprise, through whose lawless incursions the king's peace had been sorely disturbed in various quarters of the realm, and great loss of life and property sustained. There remained, however, some dispersed about the country with mischievous intent; in order to arrest these marauders writs were issued, and amongst others to the Sheriff of Essex; the object of the writ here subjoined was to command the Foresters of the county to assist the Sheriff in the matter.

In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 212, a letter, undated, from Henry III. to Llewellyn, has been printed from Close Roll 18 Hen. III., reciting the reconciliation of Gilbert Marshal, “et omnes qui fuerunt *inprisii* Richardi Marescalli, tam de Anglia quam de Wallia, qui ad pacem nostram venire voluerunt,” and inviting the Prince to meet and confer with the Archbishop and others in some secure and convenient place in the Marches of Wales, on Tuesday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity (June 20).

The following writ has been preserved amongst the muniments of the Barrington family, at Barrington Hall, Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex, now the property of George Alan Lowndes, Esq., by whose obliging permission it is here published. It has been stated by Le Neve and other writers that the custody of Hatfield Forest had been entrusted to a Saxon named Barentone, in the service of Emma, queen of Ethelred, and that he was deprived of his possessions by the Conqueror, but his son Eustace was appointed Forester by Henry I., with a grant of certain lands, subsequently confirmed by Stephen and Henry II.

We have to acknowledge the kindness of our late lamented friend, Mr. Clayton, in supplying a note of the various evidences which he found amongst the Barrington documents relating to the hereditary function of the Forestership of Hatfield. With his accustomed kindness he had prepared a transcript of the following original grant by Henry I., as we believe, hitherto unpublished.

Henricus Rex Anglie Episcopo London', et Alberico de Ver Vicecomiti, et omnibus baronibus de Essexia, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Eustacio de Barentona servienti meo terram illam que fuit Gaufridi Foristarii in Hatfelda solutam et quietam per custodiam foreste mee. Et

¹ Rogeri de Wendover Flores Hist., edit. by Mr. Coxe for the Hist. Soc., vol. iv., p. 310. The most detailed narrative of the events of this period is given by this chronicler, whose work was used by Matthew Paris as a basis for his own more extended history, and embodied

verbatim, with some occasional additions. Compare M. Paris, edit. Wats., ann. 1234.

² “*Inprisii*, qui *imprisii*, seu partibus alicujus favent, vel alterius tutelam suscipiunt, quomodo dicimus *emprendere*, vel *entreprendre* le party de quelqun.” Ducange.

preter illam concedo ei terram que fuit Adam qui se forisfecit de foresta mea, per xij. sol. reddendis inde per annum, sicut Adam eam habebat die qua se forisfecit de foresta mea. Et volo et precipio quod bene et in pace et honorifice teneat. Teste Roberto de Sigillo, et Willelmo de Montefichet, et Alberico de Ver, et Roberto de Ver, et Roberto de Essex. Apud London.

With the foregoing document the following have been preserved :—

- 1, Confirmation by King Stephen of the above grant.
- 2, Another confirmation by Stephen, granting also other lands.
- 3, Confirmation by Stephen granting to Humphrey de Barenton, son of Eustace, the lands held by his father, with the office of Forester.
- 4, A further confirmation to Humphrey de Barenton of his lands, and the office of Forester of William de Montefichet. (Chief Forester of Essex?)
- 5, Another grant to Humphrey of lands in Hadfield-Writtle (i.e., Hatfield Regis), Hadfield-Havering (i.e., Hatfield Peverel), and Witherfield.
- 6, Patent of Henry II., confirming the above grants to Humphrey de Barenton.
- 7, The writ here subjoined, dated 18 Henry III. At that period Nicholas de Barenton, grandson of the above-named Humphrey, held the lands in question and was Forester of Hatfield. To him doubtless the writ was addressed.

The document, which through the kindness of our departed friend we submit to the readers of this Journal, measures only 6 inches in length by $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in breadth; the lower margin is somewhat ragged; it is probable that a label was cut about two-thirds of the length of the parchment, and that to this was attached the seal which, with the narrow slip or label, has been torn away. Some obscure traces of writing may be discerned at the lower corner to the right, in paler ink than that used in the document; the words have been cut through, they may however be thus deciphered,—*Forestarius de feodo et aliis*.

The obliging courtesy of the late Mr. Clayton and his intimate acquaintance with documentary evidences, from which on many occasions he drew forth valuable matters for our gratification, are in the remembrance of the readers of this Journal. In bringing before them this his last contribution, received shortly before his decease, we would record the tribute of respect and esteem of the assistance of our lamented friend, during many years, in which the results of his investigations were ever freely placed at our disposal. We cannot refrain from bearing the tribute of grateful regard to the memory of one whose friendly exertions in promoting the purposes of the Institute, especially in connexion with their gathering at Rochester, had been unwearied to the latest day of a life which has been brought to so painfully sudden a close. Mr. Clayton had been invited to take part with the Earl of Darnley and other persons of note, in a deputation of the Kentish Archæological Society, who desired to tender an expression of goodwill towards the Institute on assembling to hold their annual meeting at Rochester, and he was about to proceed thither on that friendly purpose.—*Deo aliter visum!*

WRIT OF HENRY III., A.D. 1234.

(From the Barrington Hall Evidences.)

Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie, Dominus Hybernie, Dux Normannie et Aquitanie, Comes Andegavie, forestariis suis de feodo et aliis forestariis de Comitatu Essex' salutem. Sciatis quod Gilebertus Marescallus et fratres sui, Gilebertus Basset, Philippus Basset, Ricardus Suward, et omnes alii Inprisi³ Ricardi Comitis Marescalli in Anglia et Wallia venerunt ad pacem nostram, et eos recepimus in gratiam et amorem nostrum, et eis terras et tenementa sua reddidimus, ita quod predicti Marescallus Gilebertus et alii nobis sufficientem securitatem fecerunt quod nec per eos nec per suos nobis vel regno nostro dampna evenient decetero; et quia multi, ut audivimus, nomine eorum itineraverunt per terram nostram pacem nostram perturbando, et adhuc perturbant, ut dicitur, mandavimus Vicecomiti Essex' quod diligenter et viriliter modis quibus poterit se intromittat ad predictos perturbatores et malefactores in baillia⁴ sua arestandos et capiendos, ut pax nostra in baillia sua firmiter observetur, et ne pro defectu sui ad ipsum et baillivos suos oporteat nos manum apponere graviolem. Et idcirco vobis mandamus quod eidem Vicecomiti et baillivis suis ad hoc faciendum totis viribus sitis taliter consulentes et auxiliantes, ne pro defectu vestro malefactores in bailliva vestra conversentur, pro quo ad vos graviter nos capere debeamus. Teste meipso apud Theok(esburiam) vj. die Junii anno regni nostri xvij^o. [A.D. 1234.]

³ *Sic.* The word is usually written *imprisi*. See Wats' Glossary, appended to his edition of M. Paris, and Ducange, *in v.*, as cited in a note *supra*.

⁴ *Sic.* The more usual form of the word is *baillivia*, written also *baillia*, *ballia*, *balia*, &c. See Ducange.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

January 9, 1863.

The Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D., in the chair.

AFTER some gratulatory expressions at the opening of the new year, Canon Rock specially adverted to the satisfaction with which all friends to the Society must notice the increasing interest in the periodical meetings of the Institute in the metropolis, not less than in the more exciting attractions of the annual congress, such as had been held so pleasurably at Worcester in the previous year. Dr. Rock observed that the occasional exhibitions of works of art and ancient relics in classified arrangement had drawn forth numerous hidden archæological treasures which might otherwise never have been brought under notice, whilst the liberality shown on every occasion by their possessors could not be too highly appreciated. During the previous year the Institute had been specially favored by the Master of the Rolls, through whose permission documents of the greatest interest had been brought before them: the liberality of the Earl of Winchilsea must likewise be gratefully recalled; he had brought for examination from his rich stores at Eastwell Park the precious memorials and drawings collected for Lord Hatton by Dugdale, with a roll of the unique French version of the "*Modus tenendi Parliamentum*," subsequently published in the Journal under the editorial care of Mr. T. Duffus Hardy. On the present occasion Canon Rock had the gratification of placing before the Society a Register of Chertsey Abbey, Surrey, a MS. of the fourteenth century, preserved in Lord Clifford's library at Ugbrooke Park, Devon, and which by the liberal permission of that nobleman had now been entrusted to him for exhibition. He had also learned with high satisfaction that the Marquis of Westminster had kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute for publication a remarkable collection of charters and evidences relating to the earlier period of the history of Reading Abbey, hitherto wholly unknown to writers on monastic antiquities. The value of such original evidences is very great, in supplying numerous details auxiliary to historical and topographical researches.

Dr. BIRCH, Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum, delivered an interesting discourse on the collection of gold jewelled ornaments discovered in 1859 near Thebes, in the tomb of the Egyptian Queen, Aah Hotep (cir. B.C. 1800), sent by his Highness the Viceroy to the International Exhibition, where they had excited great interest. A series of drawings, which had been shown at the previous meeting by Mr. E. Kiddle, were again brought for examination. He had fortunately been permitted to execute memorials of these objects, unrivalled in beauty of workmanship

and in historical importance. Mr. Kiddle has since announced for publication a set of chromo-lithographs of his beautiful drawings, with descriptive text by Dr. Birch. The work will be dedicated by special permission to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. These precious ornaments have been published in Paris by Daly, in the *Revue de l'Architecture*, with an account of M. Mariette's explorations, in the course of which the discovery occurred.

In the discussion which ensued, Dr. Birch expressed his opinion that no object enriched with enamel, properly so termed, has hitherto been found amongst Egyptian antiquities; a specimen which has been cited is, as he believed, fictitious. The Egyptians made considerable use, however, of vitreous compositions imitating precious stones, and they were frequently introduced, as were also various precious materials in decoration incrustated upon metal, but not by fusion. Dr. Birch questioned also the use of enamel amongst the Etruscans. Mr. Franks concurred in this opinion: no ancient Egyptian enamel, he remarked, had come to his knowledge: some ornaments found in Nubia by Signor Ferlini, and now at Berlin, had been cited as examples of enamel; they were, however, found in a brick pyramid with Roman relics, camei, &c., and may be of the early part of the Christian period, although bearing analogy to Egyptian relics in style. A necklace in the Campana collection, enriched with enamel, is apparently of Greek art; it was obtained at Alexandria, but probably had been brought from Melos. Numerous Greek ornaments are thus decorated.

On the proposition of Mr. HOWLETT, seconded by Mr. JAMES YATES, a vote of thanks was heartily offered to Mr. Kiddle for the exhibition of his beautiful drawings.

The following communication from Dr. ORMEROD was read, relating to an extensive discovery of Roman coins in Gloucestershire, between Gloucester and Caerwent, to which he had invited the attention of the Institute at the recent meeting in Worcestershire:—"The discovery was made at High Woolaston, in Woolaston parish, 5 miles north of Chepstow, at the foot of Bowlash Hill, one of the hills of Tidenham Chase, about half a mile to the right of the vicinal way which passed between the Chase and the Severn towards Caerwent, and is marked in the map given in my 'Strigulensia,' p. 8.¹ The spot would be equally distant from a central point between the Roman works at 'the Chesters' and at 'Oldbury Field,' noticed in that volume, p. 41, and about half way between the recently discovered position on the Severn Cliffs in my own grounds at Sedbury and the camp and temple at Lydney. On March 19 (1862) a labourer excavating a ditch at the point described came upon a mass of coins, several hundreds in number, cemented together by verdigris. The coins are now widely scattered, but I have seen many of them, and about 30 are in my possession. All that I have seen are small brass coins of Constantine the Great, of the Empresses Helena and Fausta, of the sons of Constantine, namely, Crispus, Constantine, and Constantius, as Cæsars, and his municipal coins. None are later or earlier. It is observable that all the coins except two (hereafter described) correspond precisely with those noticed by Mr. Roach Smith in his Antiquities of

¹ This map is likewise to be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix. pl. 2, accompanying Dr. Ormerod's memoir on ancient remains in the district adjacent to the confluence of the Wye and the

Severn. He had the kindness to present to the library of the Institute a copy of his "Strigulensia," privately printed in 1861, 8vo.

Richborough, as having been found at that place, a position of the *Legio Augusta Secunda* which also had a principal position at Caerleon, and of course close connexion with all the district traversed by the line of vicinal way from *Venta Silurum* towards *Glevum*. The point of discovery had nothing to distinguish it from the character of the fields adjacent, but, as I have stated, it is in close proximity to military sites." The two small brass coins above mentioned as those which alone vary from the coins found amongst the relics of the *Legio Augusta* at *Rutupiae*, are the following :—1, Obv., Head of Constantine to right ; Rev., under a wreath, CONSTANTINUS AVG. Exergue, S.M.R.S. 2, Head of Constantine II. to left, holding a winged Victory. CONSTANTINVS. JUN. NOB. C.—Rev., under two stars an altar inscribed VOTIS XX. with a globe upon it. Legend, BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Exergue, S.T.R.

The Rev. C. HEATHCOTE CAMPION, Rector of Westmeston, Sussex, gave a full description of mural paintings of the close of the twelfth, or earlier part of the thirteenth century, which had been brought to light during the previous autumn in the church of that parish, and of which he exhibited colored tracings of the full size of the originals. This remarkable discovery of examples of early decoration of more artistic character than is usually found in wall-paintings, which, moreover, rarely occur of so early a period, had been brought before the Institute by Mr. Blaauw at their previous meeting. The whole church had been enriched with paintings ; they had unfortunately been covered over with mortar and hair, and the difficulty of removing such a coating without serious injury to the designs beneath proved very great. The paintings have subsequently been destroyed, the decayed state of the fabric rendering its demolition unavoidable. The subjects of which tracings were shown by Mr. Campion were on the eastern wall of the nave, filling the spaces over the chancel-arch and at its sides. They were—The Scourging of Our Lord, the Taking Down from the Cross, the Saviour's Commission to St. Peter and St. Paul, the Holy Lamb, &c. Some portions were traced of a representation of the Adoration of the Wise Men ; also a curious subject of the early persecutions of the Christians, in which a truculent-looking crowned personage appears wielding a large sword, and accompanied by the inscription—DATIANVS REX. This subject may doubtless be referred to the times of Diocletian and Maximian, whose cruel edicts were rigidly carried out in Spain by the governor or proconsul of the province, Datianus, as related by Gibbon. The martyr of Saragossa, St. Vincent, was cruelly tortured early in the fourth century, under the orders of the Roman tyrant, here incorrectly designated as king. Several churches in England are dedicated to St. Vincent, and it is by no means improbable that the martyrdom of that saint may have been the subject of the painting at Westmeston. A full account of these curious paintings will be given, it is hoped, by Mr. Campion in a future volume of the Sussex Archæological Collections.

Canon ROCK observed that such evidences of the state of the arts in England at so early a period as the time of Henry II., or that of the lion-hearted Richard, are of unusual interest, even if the types of their design are considered to have been originated by productions of some continental school, whether they are supposed to betray a certain tradition of Greek design, or may be regarded as copies of early Italian works. Dr. Rock, however, took occasion to point out that the merits of English art, even at an early period, have not been generally recognised as they deserved ; he

alluded to certain examples of great interest in various classes of the arts, especially to some recently brought under his notice through the Loan Exhibition at South Kensington.

The Hon. WILLIAM OWEN STANLEY, M.P., communicated a notice of a metal tripod-pot or caldron, lately found in a turbarry at Bodidris, Denbighshire, and now in possession of Sir Hugh Williams, Bart., at Bodelwyddan, near St. Asaph. This vessel, of which Mr. Stanley sent a drawing, and which is here figured, is of mixed metal or bell-metal; it holds 9 quarts.



Caldron found in Denbighshire. Dimensions—height 10 in., diameter 11½ in.

Bodidris, situated in a remote position on the mountains above Wrexham, was of note as a border fortress in early times. It was doubtless one of the strongholds of the lordship of Denbigh granted by Elizabeth to her favorite, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, in 1563, with the castles of Chirk and Denbigh and the lordship of Yale. Mr. Stanley described the ancient mansion, subsequently in possession of the Lloyds and of the Vaughans of Corsygedol, as stated by Pennant:² it is a curious half-fortified dwelling in the Tudor style of architecture; around the parapet the device of the bear and ragged staff is frequently repeated, with an escutcheon of arms under each. The building presents, however, in several parts, features of an earlier period than the grant to the Earl of Leicester; some portions may be as ancient as the times of Richard II. The great hall stands on the boundaries of the counties of Denbigh and Flint, so that the two ends of the long table are in different counties; there are stables for 100 horses in a long timbered building of oak rudely fashioned with the axe. Tripod metal vessels of the same description as that found at Bodidris have been noticed in other parts of England, and they have sometimes been regarded as relics of even as early a period as that of Roman occupation. A good example obtained in Northumberland is in the museum at Alnwick Castle, and they have occurred repeatedly in North Britain. One, found near the Roman Wall at Haydon Bridge, is figured in Dr. Bruce's account of the Great Northern Barrier, p. 435, pl. xvii. They are, however, probably of mediæval workmanship. One, described as a hunting pot, precisely similar in form to that in possession of Sir Hugh Williams, was exhibited by the late Hon. Col. Greville at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, in 1801; it may be assigned to the fourteenth century, and it is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 278, plates

² Tour in Wales, vol. i. p. 379.

51—53. It is ornamented with the symbols of the evangelists, the chase of the stag, an unicorn, griffin, fleurs de lys, &c. in relief, and bears two inscriptions,—“*Vilelmus Angetel me fieri fecit*,” and the following significant distich—

“Je su pot de graunt bonhur
Viaunde a fere de bon savhur.”

The smaller vessels of this description may doubtless have been used in the hunting expeditions in olden times, and the specimen last mentioned appears to have been so regarded by Col. Greville. See notices of several ancient brass caldrons or *marmites* in France, *Gent. Mag.*, vol. cexi., p. 254 ; vol. ccxiv., p. 318.

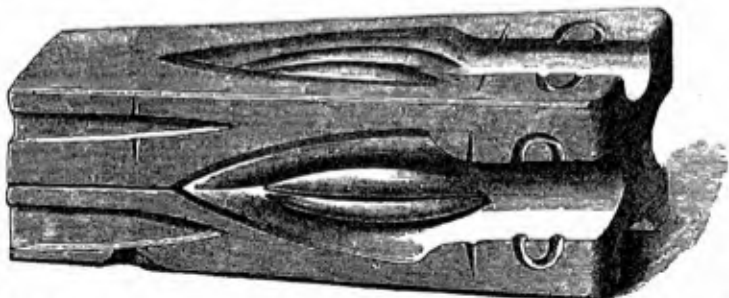
Mr. HEWITT read a notice of a Flemish weapon known as the *Goedendag*, or Good Day. Printed in this Journal, vol. xix. p. 314.

Dr. ROCK desired to invite the attention of English archæologists to the recent completion of the first volume of an important work on Christian Epigraphy edited by the Cavaliere Rossi. It will contain eleven thousand inscriptions of Christian Rome, from the earliest period to the end of the sixth century, reproduced in fac-simile.³

Dr. ROD. DE BERLANGA, of Malaga, on the part of the Marquis de Casa Soring, presented two large admirably executed fac-similes of the inscribed bronze tablets found, in October, 1851, near Malaga, and containing Roman municipal laws or constitutions relating to that city and to Salpessa, which were first published with a commentary by Dr. de Berlanga, and subsequently by Mommsen and other learned German archæologists. The Marquis, in whose possession these precious tablets are preserved, has caused accurate lithographic reproductions to be made, and these he kindly presented to the Institute through Lord Talbot de Malahide. The text of these tablets has been printed by Henzen, *Orellii Inser. Lat. Ampl. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 524.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. J. F. W. de SALIS.—A moiety of a stone mould for casting spear-heads of various sizes and also pointed objects, possibly arrow-heads. It was found about 1850, on the estates of Mr. de Salis in Ireland, at Loughgur, co. Limerick, and has been presented to the British Museum by Mr. A. Montgomery. It is a four-sided prism measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, the breadth of each face being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches at one extremity, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the other. The form of this interesting object is here accurately shown.



³ Mr. Stewart, 11, King William Street, Strand, will receive any orders for the

“*Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ*” ; the work will consist of six folio volumes.

It is obvious that a second similar prism was requisite by means of which four perfect moulds for casting weapons, slightly varying in form, would be obtained; the spear-heads thus produced were in each case provided with two side-loops or ears for attachment to the haft. Another example of a like ingenious contrivance was published in this Journal in 1846,⁴ being the moiety of a similar mould of hone-stone, of rather larger dimensions than that here figured; it measured $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by 2 inches in breadth at the broadest extremity. This mould was intended to produce socketed celts with two side-loops, spears, and sharp-pointed spikes, probably for some missile weapons; it was found in the western parts of Anglesea, between Bodwrdin and Tre Ddafydd. We have been informed by Mr. Franks that a precisely similar four-sided stone mould for palstaves and other objects of metal is preserved in the Museum at Clermont, the ancient *Augustonemetum*, dep. Puy de Dôme. It was found at Cisternes la Forêt in Auvergne. In this instance both moieties of the mould, which is formed of micaceous schist, have been preserved; the cavities on three sides are adapted for casting palstaves of three forms, slightly varied; the fourth side presents, in one moiety, a long groove of equal width in which a kind of ingot might be cast; the corresponding face of the other moiety of the mould is perfectly plain.

By Dr. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich.—Cast of an unique die for casting Gaulish gold coins, found at Avenches, in Switzerland. See Dr. Keller's account of the discovery in this Journal, vol. xix. p. 253.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A portion of the horn of the extinct species of elk, perforated doubtless to serve in affixing a haft to a stone celt or other implement, in like manner as in certain relics found in Switzerland and other foreign countries. The object, unique in this country, is much worn, apparently by rolling in shingle. It will be more fully noticed and figured hereafter. Any account of the like objects discovered in the British Islands will be highly acceptable.

By Capt. EDWARD HOARE.—Lithograph of a gold ornament found in the South of Ireland, described as a fillet or bandlet for the hair; it was found in 1857, near Mallow, in the barony of Duhallow, co. Cork, and is now in possession of Mr. Thomas Hewitt, of Summerhill House, Cork; it is formed of nine strands of twisted gold wire, 20 in. in length; the weight is 22 dwts. 4 grs. Figured in the *Ulster Journ. of Archæology*, vol. ix., p. 28. This interesting object is of very fine gold; it had suffered some damage before its discovery. Gold hair-fillets are of great rarity amongst Irish antiquities. Two only had come under Capt. Hoare's notice. Of one of these, formerly in his own collection, and now belonging to Mr. Forman, of Dorking, he presented a lithograph with that exhibited. It is described and figured in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society* for 1857. Capt. Hoare stated that no example is to be found in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The precious series of gold ornaments there to be seen, and comprising the celebrated collection formed by the late Dean of St. Patrick's, has been described and fully illustrated in the recently published portion of Mr. Wilde's *Catalogue of the Museum*. With the gold fillet first mentioned, found near Mallow, a representation was given of an Irish bronze

⁴ *Arch. Journal*, vol. iii. p. 257, noticed also and figured in Mr. Yates' memoir on the use of bronze celts in military operations, *ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 384.

brooch in Mr. Hewitt's possession, remarkable chiefly on account of its unusually diminutive size.

By Mr. C. FAULKNER, F.S.A.—A Romano-British urn found, in June, 1862, about 4 feet below the surface at Blacking Grove near Deddington, Oxfordshire. It measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter at the middle; within it was found a tooth, and close to the urn lay a thin leaden plate, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, which was broken by the workman's pick. Within a few yards were found fragments of Samian vessels, one of them stamped inside with the potter's mark—DONATVS P.—the other has the mark—VIRTVTIS.—Both these names occur in the list given by Mr. C. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, and likewise in that appended to Mr. Thomas Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*.—Also a miniature brass dag or pistol, apparently a boy's toy of the time of Elizabeth or James I., found at Little Bourton, Oxfordshire.

By Mr. WEBB.—An enameled *plaque*, representing our Lord surrounded by the Apostles.—Another choice specimen of enameled work, French art of the fifteenth century; the subject is the Adoration of the Magi.

By Mr. ROBERT FITCH.—A gold ring found at Heigham near Norwich, and lately added to his choice collection of Norfolk relics and antiquities.



This beautiful ornament, of which Mr. Fitch has very kindly presented the accompanying woodcut, is thus inscribed—† IE SVI : ICI : EN LIV— and † AMOR : VINCIT : OMN—Three quatrefoils or florets are elegantly introduced at intervals. The bezel, which is considerably raised above the hoop, is set with an uncut ruby. Date, fourteenth century. The *chanson* first mentioned occurs thus on other personal ornaments of the period—*Je suis ici en lieu d'ami*, and the word DAMI is doubtless here to be understood. The second, *Amor vincit omnia*, is likewise not without precedent. In the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, it will be remembered that the dainty Prioress, Madame Eglentine, wore on her arm a string of beads of coral:—

“And theron henge a broche of gold ful shene
On which was first ywriten a crowned A,
And after, *Amor vincit omnia*.”

By Miss FFARINGTON, of Worden, Lancashire.—A little volume containing a collection of almanacs and prognostications for a series of years, between 1551 and 1568. 1. Almanac and prognostication for 1551, “practised by Simon Heuringius and Lodowike Bogard, Doctors in Phisike and Astronomeye. Imprynted at Worceter in y^e hyghe strete by Ihon

Oswen. They be also to sell at Shrewesbury." This rare production of a local press is possibly unique; no copy of any almanac printed by Oswen is noticed in the list in Herbert's edit. of Ames' Typ. Ant., vol. iii. p. 1459. It is more fully described in the Catalogue of the Museum formed at the meeting of the Institute in Worcester, p. 64.—2. Almanac and prognostication for 1552, by Anthony Askham, Phisician. "Imprinted at London in Lumberdestrete, at the signe of the Egle, by Rycharde Kele." The Prognostication was printed in London by William Powell.—3. Almanac by Anthony Askham for 1553. "Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the signe of the George nexte to seynt Dunstones Church by Wyllyam Powell."—4. Almanac for 1554, by Anthony Askham, printed by William Powell; the Prognostication declaring the four seasons, the sicknesses of the same, "with a dietary in miter (*sic*) and also the farre cours of the mone Northwarde."—5. Almanac for 1555, the year succeeding that of the accession of Mary: on the title Askham describes himself as "preest," with the following observation:—"And this I have wrytten for a token and remembraunce, that I determyne by gods grace to set forth the Cosmographie and Syte of Englande in respect to all the worlde, that Gods hygh power and glory thereby may be magnified. Also I haue added a certeyne allegorye to euery moneth, of oure late Heresies, with an exclamation, a counsell, and redresse of the same." London, printed by William Powell.—6. Almanac for 1556; also is added "how ye maye knowe all tymes and howres of the daye by your horse rodde, or any other staffe, by the shadow therof when the sonne shineth, made and deuyed by Anthonye Askham, Phisycyon and pryest. Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete at the signe of the Princes armes, by Thomas Marshe."—7. Almanac for 1557, printed by Thomas Marshe; also a prognostication "Practised at Medlay in Yorkeshyre by Anthony Askham prieste."—8. Almanac, &c. for 1558, made for the meridian of Norwich, &c. by William Kenningham, Phisician, London; printed for John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate. In this commence announcements of Eclipses, also of Fairs. To the prognostication is prefixed an address to the reader, with a well-executed woodcut portrait of the author, holding a globe and compasses. In the "disposition of thayre, thorow the .xii. Monethes," spirited woodcuts are introduced, representing the occupations of the months; each cut with a monogram composed of an I within a C (? Jean Croissant). The dimensions of the cuts are $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Also the planets, Saturn, Jupiter, &c. each in a triumphal car, engraved by the same.—9. Prognostication for 1560, "Practysed in Salisburie by Maister Henry Lon, Doctour in Phisike, dwellynge nere to the close gate." London; printed by Henry Sutton, in Pater noster row.—10. Almanac for 1561, calculated for the meridian and situation of Gloucester by Lewes Vaughan. London, printed by Thomas Marshe.—11. Almanac for 1563, "composed by M. Michael Nostradamus Doctour in Phisicke, of Salon of Craux in Province," with a long prognostication translated from the French; at the end is the autograph.—"This boke perteyneth to Edwarde Fynche of Laytoun, Esquier, 1563." No printer's name.—12. Almanac for 1564 by Nostradamus. Imperfect; no printer's name.—13. Almanac for 1567, serving for all England; by Thomas Buckmaster. Imprinted at London by Ihon Kyngston, for Garet Dewes. This contains the same pretty woodcuts of the occupations of the months, by C. I., used in No. 8.—14. Almanac for 1568, by M. Thomas Buckmaster. Printed by Ihon Kyngston for Garet Dewes. Without the

woodcuts. On the last leaf is written the following memorandum:—"This yeaere theaere was a verry Riche lottarie generall of 400000 lottes, every lotte x. s., set forth and graunted by the consent of the qwenes majestie and her counsell for the commoditie and Renowne of this Realme. In the same lottarie theaere is 30001 gayners—369999 losers, and the whole lottarie doth amounte to 200000 li., wheareof 61979 li. rewardeth y^e gainers, 46349 li. 10 s. dischargeth (?) y^e losers, 91771 li. 10 s. remaynthe to"

By Mr. HEWITT.—Engraved silver counter, date probably about the time of Charles I. On the obverse is a half-length figure of a man walking towards the left, carrying a long staff over his left shoulder and a basket on his back attached by a strap round his arm. Legend—*Sum broken Breade and Meate*. Reverse, a flower like a marigold, and the numeral 15, probably the number of the counter, the set being commonly of thirty pieces, and in this instance, it may be supposed, they were engraved with a series of figures of various trades or occupations.

MEDIEVAL SEALS.—By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A leaden cast of the seal of the Tinnors of Cornwall found in 1842, near Lee Down, Bath, as stated in a notice by Mr. Edward Smirke in this Journal, vol. v. p. 65, where this interesting relic is figured. It has also been described by Sir Charles Lemon in a notice addressed to the Truro Institution. The leaden cast exhibited is now in possession of Mr. Benjamin Bright, of Malvern Link, Worcestershire.—Bulls of the following Popes: Martin V., Alexander VII., Clement XI., Clement XII., and Clement XIII.—Bulla of Agostino Barbarigo, Doge of Venice, A.D. 1486—1501.—Thick leaden disc., diam. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in., stamped with an escutcheon charged with a cross, a dagger, possibly marks of the City of London, and a third device, St. Michael weighing souls.—Two leaden objects, probably cloth-marks; on one is an escutcheon ensigned with a crown, the bearing is apparently billey a lion rampant (? Nassau); the other is stamped on one side with the bust of a bald, bearded ecclesiastic vested in a cope, and like a papal head, but no tiara visible; on the reverse is a castle.

February 6, 1863.

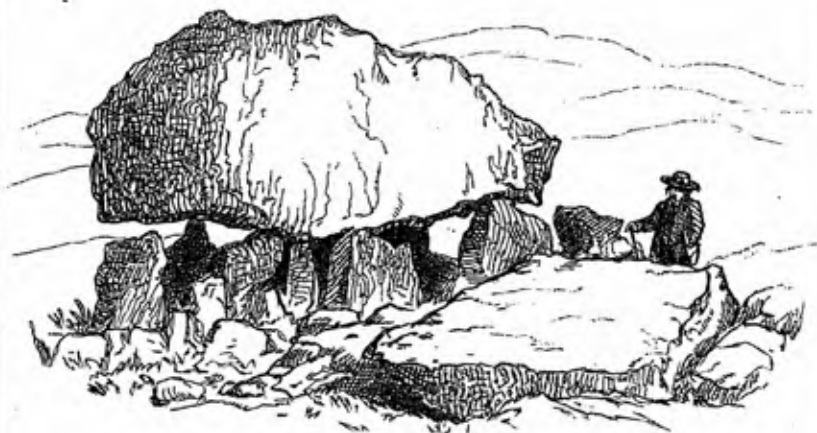
OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following communication was read, from Mr. J. E. LEE, Hon. Secretary of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Archæological Association:—

"So many foolish things have been said and written respecting cromlechs, that it is with hesitation I venture to send a suggestion which occurred to me during a tour which we took last autumn in South Wales. I send a rough sketch of a cromlech, called Arthur's Stone, situated on a high ridge of land known as Cefn Bryn, in Gower, a peninsula south-west of Swansea, chiefly inhabited by descendants of a colony of Flemings. The covering stone is of large size, 13 ft. long, 7 ft. wide, and in its greatest thickness 8 ft.; so that it is of enormous weight. I send also with this a hasty sketch, taken in July, 1857, of what is called an 'earth-pillar,' in the Valley of Stalden, leading from Wisp to Zermatt, in Switzerland. These 'earth-pillars' are singular natural productions. It is well known that on the glaciers, large rocks called 'glacier tables' are found mounted, as it were, on pedestals of ice, simply because the stalks or pedestals have been protected from the sun by the size of the rock, while the surrounding ice, in the course of months or years, has gradually



"Earth-pillar," in the Valley of Stalden, leading from Wisp to Zermatt, canton du Valais.



Cromlech called Arthur's Stone, on Cefn Bryn, in Gower, Glamorganshire.

thawed away. A somewhat analogous action, as shown by Forbes and others, has produced the 'earth-pillars.' The earth or clay beneath a large rock is protected by it from the wearing away of the Alpine rains, which, as every traveller knows, descend in torrents, and lower the surrounding earth, till in process of time the rock appears perched upon a kind of neck. These earth-pillars in the Swiss valleys have been mentioned by various authors, and at the late meeting of the British Association at Cambridge, Mr. Godwin Austen stated that they are also well known in the Alpine regions of India. While sketching the cromlech in Gower, the question occurred to me, how was it possible for a race of men, evidently without machinery and probably without regular tools, to have placed in its present position this enormous superincumbent mass? A suggestion flashed into my mind, Can glacial action, and the earth-pillars of Stalden, at all explain the difficulty? It is now generally agreed by geologists that the large blocks and masses of rock scattered over the country were dropped by ice-floes during what is called the glacial period, before the land was raised to its present level. Recent investigations seem to have thrown back the first appearance of man on the earth to a time almost immediately succeeding this period, whenever it may have been, and it certainly is at least probable that in the ages after the glacial period there would be numbers of these blocks perched on earth-pillars, in a similar way to those of Stalden. If so, is it not probable that a rude people would look up to them with veneration, and that they would be used as sacred places or as the memorials of deceased heroes? If they were wanted as places of burial, the large covers would require to be supported by stones of a size easy to be transported by the aborigines, before the pillar of earth was removed, or possibly the upper rock, from its great weight and the failure of the earth beneath, might begin to sink, and similar measures would then be taken to support it: in either case it would afford to the early inhabitants the type or model of the regular cromlech. It is not here imagined that all cromlechs were thus formed; doubtless the greater proportion were arranged entirely by human hands; all that is here suggested is, that these two actions, viz., that of ice-floes, and that of the formation of earth-pillars, may possibly explain the mode by which these enormous masses have been placed in their present position, a problem which has puzzled nearly every thinking antiquary.

"It may be said that the rocks of Stonehenge are equally large, if not larger; but then it must be borne in mind that Stonehenge shows a considerable amount of workmanship and some architectural skill, so that the race which erected Stonehenge must have been much farther advanced in civilization than the framers of the rude cromlech now under consideration.

"It is somewhat singular that shortly afterwards, when at St. Davids in company with two leading geologists, the subject was mentioned, they both thought the idea probable, but neither they nor I were aware, till on our return home we received the report of the meeting of the British Association at Manchester, that a paper had been read there by Mr. P. O'Callaghan, Hon. Secretary of the Leeds Philosophical Society, throwing out the suggestion that these large blocks had been dropped by ice-floes in the glacial period, so that there is nothing new in this part of the suggestion. It is, however, remarkable that Mr. O'Callaghan, having advanced so far, did not go still farther, and refer to the earth-pillars. His theory, that when these huge rocks were dropped from the ice-floes, they fell upon

other stones, 'broke them, and remained ever since securely supported upon these rude props,' seems untenable, from the artificial mode in which the supporting stones of cromlechs are placed, as well as by their usual form, which does not at all answer his description.

"I fear that you will call this letter a theoretical one, and that you will say, facts and facts only ought to be admitted in the study of antiquities. Still, if there is no attempt to dogmatise, and if a supposition is merely suggested for consideration, I do not see that much harm can be done, even if the theory be pronounced valueless."

The following short notice of Roman vestiges recently brought to light in London was then read by Mr. ALBERT WAY :—

"During the last month a discovery of remains of a Roman building and of part of a tessellated floor has occurred in the city, in a locality where Roman vestiges of remarkable character have formerly been found. During the progress of the demolition of the India House in Leadenhall Street, and clearing out the foundations of that structure for the erection of buildings upon its site, our accomplished Vice-President, Mr. Tite, who is constantly on the watch for traces of the ancient Roman city which may be brought to light in the course of public works under his charge, had been looking out for any vestiges of *Londinium*, which, it might reasonably be anticipated, would there be disinterred. Until about the middle of January, however, nothing was noticed; a small tessellated pavement was then found at a considerable depth, and my attention having by Mr. Tite's kindness been invited to the discovery, I lost no time in visiting the spot, with his recommendation to the Clerk of the Works, Mr. Vincent, through whose obliging attention I was enabled to examine the pavement, and obtain the following particulars. The portion of a tessellated floor which has thus been rescued from oblivion during the last month, although inconsiderable in dimensions and of the coarsest description of mosaic, is not without interest to the archæologist, as a fresh evidence of Roman occupation in the metropolis. The discovery may be regarded as comparatively insignificant when compared with that of the elaborate mosaic floor brought to light in Leadenhall Street, opposite the eastern end of the portico of the India House, in 1803. A fine pavement was also found in Lothbury in 1805, inside the western gate of the Bank; both these floors have been figured in Mr. Roach Smith's *Illustrations of Roman London*, where may also be seen representations of two beautiful portions of mosaic disinterred in 1841 in Threadneedle Street, on the site of the late French Church. We are indebted to Mr. Tite for a full account of the discovery of another tessellated floor, in February, 1854, under the vaults of the south-east area of the late Excise Office. Mr. Tite's memoir in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. p. 203, is well known to all who take interest in the vestiges of Roman times in our metropolis. The fine example last mentioned, representing Bacchus and Ariadne, is moreover familiar to visitors of the Crystal Palace, where it is now preserved, having been successfully taken up by the late Mr. Minton, and relaid without injury. Other discoveries of Roman tessellated work might be mentioned; and of the floors of more simple fashion and homely character, an example found in 1847 in works for the new Coal Exchange was brought under the notice of our Society in a memoir in our *Journal*, vol. v. p. 25, by Mr. Tucker. It will be seen, however, from this enumeration, that the remains of Roman construction, combined with the beautiful decorated works in ques-

tion, are numerous, and present important evidence as regards consideration of the relative position of *Londinium* amongst the Roman cities in Britain. Although not the capital city in days of Imperial dominion, it evidently occupied a leading position in its commercial relations, and for the wealth and luxury of its inhabitants, as is abundantly shown in Mr. Roach Smith's work, to which allusion has been made, and also by his valuable collection of London antiquities now in the National Museum. The fragment of tessellated work which is the subject of this short notice, has been found at the great depth of 19 ft. 6 in. below the present pavement of Leadenhall Street, at a spot 20 ft. west of the old portico of the East India House, and under the façade of that structure towards the street. The India House, it will be remembered, was erected in 1799 by R. Jupp, on the site of a previous building; it was subsequently enlarged under the direction of Wilkins and Cockerell. The pediment, of which the colossal sculptures now lie prostrate amongst the ruins, was executed by Bacon the younger. On forming the foundations, it appeared that the builders had formerly carried their excavations, adjoining the spot where the lately found floor lay concealed, to the depth of the natural stratum of London clay; closely adjacent, and about 6 ft. below the level of that stratum, the Roman building was brought to light. It consists, as was pointed out to me by Mr. Vincent, of part of a small chamber, lying nearly north and south by east and west, the internal dimensions in the former direction being 14 ft. 3 in.; the area at present exposed measured 12 ft. east and west, but the site had not been wholly cleared towards the west. The lower portions of the walls of this little chamber having thus been exposed to view on three of its sides, were found to measure 2 ft. in thickness; they were constructed chiefly of rubble of chalk and Kentish rag, with bonding courses of brick about 2 ft. apart. The interior face had been plastered, and a band of color appeared along the base, about 6 to 8 in. in breadth, forming a kind of ornamental skirting. In part of the area only the tessellæ remained undisturbed; they are of red, black, and white color, but no decorative pattern in their arrangement can now be perceived. The tessellæ measure $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. square. The floor is perfectly level, and is doubtless carefully laid on the concrete and substratum usually found in Roman constructions, and of which Mr. Tite has given us an excellent description in his memoir before cited.

"It is remarkable that all the pavements discovered at various times in the City have occurred within a very small area. They have in some instances been found at a very great depth. I am not aware, however, whether any such remains have been noticed at so great a depth as the building which I have described, nearly 20 ft. It must be borne in mind that this Roman construction had been formed several feet lower than the natural stratum of the clay at that spot. It may have been some sub-structure or vault, possibly some chamber connected with a bath, but the occurrence of fresco on the walls near its floor may, I apprehend, indicate that it had not been used for any purpose of the nature last mentioned, where water had been admitted. No coins or Roman relics had been found. Mr. Vincent showed me a few copper pieces of late date, but nothing coeval with the pavement. He informed me that in June last Roman remains were exposed, about the same depth from the surface, near the south-east angle of the old India House, and near Leadenhall Place. A portion of pavement formed of large black and red tessellæ,

like those of the floor lately found, was exposed, measuring 4 ft. by 3 ft., and fragments have been preserved."

Mr. TITE offered some observations on these Roman vestiges. It is probable, as he believed, that a main thoroughfare, leading from the ferry across the Thames, in Roman times, towards the great line of way into Essex and to *Camulodunum*, may have passed over the site of the India House, and that upon this street several important structures, of which remains have from time to time been exposed to view, may have been situated. The building recently discovered had probably been part of some edifice of note; it lay at a considerable depth below the present surface, but the like traces of Roman occupation had repeatedly been disinterred in excavations in the city at even greater depths, as Mr. Tite believed, than 19 feet below the surface level of the present streets. He had promised to communicate to the Society of Antiquaries a detailed report, when the works now in progress on the site of the India House were completed, and he would refer those who might desire further information on the subject to the *Archæologia*, in which his memoir on Roman pavements discovered in London at various times, and especially on the fine tessellated floor found in 1854 under the late Excise Office, had been already published.⁵

The Rev. CANON TROLLOPE, F.S.A., sent an account of Anglo-Saxon tombs at Baston, Lincolnshire. (Printed in this volume, p. 29.)

The Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER gave a short notice of some Roman relics found in September last in Norfolk, at Ditchingham near Bungay, in preparing the site of an orphanage in course of erection. At a depth of several feet were disinterred three small Roman urns of dark-colored ware, the largest measuring in height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the two others about 5 inches. They lay, placed on their sides, in a large vessel of dark iron-colored Roman pottery, of singular fashion, measuring 18 inches in depth, 3 feet in diameter at the top, and from 3 to 4 inches in thickness. The larger vase, which unfortunately was broken by the workmen, had doubtless in this deposit been used instead of a sepulchral cist, or as an *obruendarium*; globular *amphoræ* have repeatedly occurred in England, within which, the neck and upper portion having been broken away, cinerary vases of glass and pottery had been deposited. Mr. Chester had described previously some Roman remains at Ditchingham, in a Memoir on the Antiquities of the Valleys of the Yare and the Waveney (*Norfolk Archæology*, vol. iv. p. 310). The late discovery occurred at a spot more distant from the river than that formerly noticed, and near the church.

Mr. G. V. DU NOYER communicated a note and drawing of a sculptured figure of St. Christopher, formerly at Jerpoint Abbey, co. Kilkenny, and preserved in the collection of the late Mr. Anthony, at Pilltown, co. Tipperary. The slab of limestone upon which this curious figure is carved measures 34 inches in height by 13 inches in breadth. Mr. du Noyer considers it to be a work of the thirteenth century, and no similar example had fallen under his observation in Ireland. The infant Saviour is seen seated upon the left arm of St. Christopher, his hand upraised in the gesture of benediction. The saint wears a head-covering of a prevalent fashion of our own days, with the brim turned up; in his right hand there is a stout staff,

⁵ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., p. 203. Mr. Tite has there given a map of London and the vicinity to the S.E., showing the

lines of ancient roads and their probable continuation in Roman London, which supplies much valuable information.

which terminates at top in a sort of bud, denoting its miraculous germination; the lower extremity, seen amongst wavy lines crossing the legs of the saint and indicating the stream which he is crossing, appears to throw out roots, whilst a large fish is introduced at the side to denote the waters of the river. Mr. du Noyer remarked that the mural painting at Knockmoy Abbey, co. Sligo, of which a drawing, of the full size of the original, was shown at the Dublin Exhibition by the Fine Arts Committee, was not intended to represent, as explained by Dr. Todd, the martyrdom of St. Sebastian,⁶ but that of St. Christopher, who was in much higher repute in Ireland as well as in Great Britain. Mr. du Noyer, in proof of his explanation of the Knockmoy painting, referred to the remarkable representation of the legend of St. Christopher in mural paintings discovered April, 1847, in Shorwell Church, Isle of Wight, and figured by Mr. Fairholt, Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc., vol. iii. p. 85. According to the Golden Legend, the King of Lycia ordered forty archers to put St. Christopher to death, but their shafts hung in the air, and none reached him. The representation of this incident, at Shorwell, closely resembles the subject which appeared on the wall of the chancel at Knockmoy.

Mr. ALBERT WAY read a short notice of a Register of Chertsey Abbey, Surrey, preserved in Lord Clifford's library at Ugbrooke Park, Devon, and sent by his kind permission at the request of the Very Rev. Canon Rock. The volume contains the acts of John de Rutherwyke, who was Abbot of Chertsey in the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. This MS. contains the record of his administration, year by year, from 1313 to 1345. It is in the handwriting of the period; another transcript, somewhat more complete, is preserved in the British Museum, Lausd. MS. 435. The following entries may not be without interest to some of our readers. Under 1324, the following acts of the Abbot are recorded:—"Exerit aulam, cameras et capellam apud Ebesham" (Epsom);—"Eodem anno fecit fieri novum baculum pastorem." In 1327, "Edificavit novum cancellum apud Egelham, in quo scribuntur isti versus,—

Hee domus efficitur baptiste laude Johannis,
Bis decem septenis trescentis mille sub annis
Christi, quam statuit Abbas ex corde Johannes
De Rutherwyka, per terras dictus et ampnes."

In the same year—"Exerit cameram super foltam apud Ebesham." Certain other entries occur by which the precise date of buildings still existing might be ascertained; for instance, under 1320, "fecit pontem de petra apud Stevynton," probably in Berkshire, as the monastery had possessions in that county. Of the curious documentary evidence throwing light on the internal economy of conventual institutions, some extracts have been given in this Journal, vol. xix. p. 350. Mr. Way cited certain singular personal names, of which some may still be found in Surrey. In 1324, mention occurs of several persons named Richebel resident at Baustead, where the name is still found. Of names derived from occupations or the like, the following may deserve notice:—Ric. le Kembere, Rob. le Zukyere, Simon le Twynere, Walt. le Marlere, Pet. le Potiere, and Ric. le Crockere or le Crochere Courteys, both of Claudon, where earthenwares were probably manufactured in the fourteenth century. There are also found Joh. le

⁶ Proceedings of Roy. Irish Acad., vol. vi. p. 3; Wilde's Catal. Mus. Roy. Irish Acad., p. 316.

Brocwarde, Hugo le Kache, Will. le Cuchenere, Joh. le Synyere, &c. Joh. de Gatsslydere seems to have derived his name from a moor-land so called; Michael le Waeps, Joh. le Foghel, Heur. le Goym, may claim mention, and also Rad. Halvelorde and Edeline Halveledy, names of very uncommon character.

The MARQUESS CAMDEN, K.G., President of the Kent Archaeological Society, and who had favored the Institute by consenting to preside at their meeting at Rochester, being present on this occasion, expressed in most kind terms his desire to promote the general gratification of the members on their visit to his county.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ASHURST MAJENDIE.—Fragment of a Roman mirror, formed of white mixed metal, extremely brittle. It was found at Sible Hedingham, Essex.

By Miss HILL, of Bath.—Several singular leaden seals, found with Roman remains at Brough-upon-Stanmore, Westmoreland, and formerly in the collection of the late Mr. John Hill of Appleby. They are mostly of irregular oval or oblong form, measuring about $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ inch, by $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, with letters and ornaments or symbols in relief, mostly on both sides, and produced by a stamp, apparently in like manner as the marks on modern *plombs* used commonly in custom-houses on the Continent for securing merchandise from being opened in transit. The little leaden relics found at Brough, and also very rarely in some other localities, appear to have been intended for a similar purpose: the country whence they came has not been ascertained; the characters and ornaments have been regarded as indicating a Phœnician or Celtiberian origin. Mr. Roach Smith has figured several specimens in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii. pl. 32, p. 197, and a more extended notice of these very curious relics of commerce in Britain in Roman times will be given in vol. vi. of that valuable work.

By Mr. J. W. BRETT.—A valuable little collection of Egyptian relics, of gold and bronze, inlaid with gold. Amongst them may be particularly mentioned a small figure of the goddess Neb-ti, or Nephthys; another, described as of the goddess Pacht; a small figure of Osiris, such as were deposited with mummies; it bears the usual inscription from ch. vi. of the Book of the Dead. The name of the deceased was Psammetichus, the son of Sba-rekhi; the date may be about B.C. 600.—A bronze, showing remains of ornament by gilding with leaf-gold: the figure may have been wholly so enriched; a like specimen of great beauty exists in the Louvre, ornamented with gold and color.—A collection of "Phenico-Egyptian ornaments found in Sardinia, and obtained there in 1854."

By Mr. BISHOP.—A set of medallions of the Cæsars, small profiles in yellow marble obtained at Naples.

By Mr. VILLIERS BAYLY.—The head of a fool's *marotte* or bauble, of brass, with a long peaked hood attached, so as to be moveable on pivots inserted at the sides of the face. (See woodcut, orig. size.) It is now fixed on a plain wooden staff, possibly copied from the original handle. Objects of this description are of rare occurrence. A similar brass *marotte*, however, is to be seen in the South Kensington Museum; a very elaborately sculptured specimen, exhibited by Mr. Farrer at a former meeting of the Institute, is of boxwood, curiously carved with grotesque heads and ornaments, amongst which are the arms of a cardinal, probably Philip, brother of Pope

Nicholas V. ; date, about 1450. This singular object had been in the possession of Cardinal York, and is now in Lord Londesborough's collection ; it is figured by Mr. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi. pl. 22, p. 201, where notices of court-jesters and of their baubles may be found. The subject has been more fully discussed by Mr. Douce, *Illustrations to Shakespeare*, vol. ii. p. 209, where several representations of the fool with



Brass *marotte*, in possession of Mr. Villiers Bayly.

his *marotte* are given ; there is a fool's bauble of silver with an ivory handle in the Doucean Museum at Goodrich Court ; another, carved in box-wood, is in the Musée Sauvagot at the Louvre ; it is described as the "insigne de la Mère folle dans la fête des Fous." See M. Sauzay's Catalogue of that very interesting collection, p. 52. The *marotte* exhibited by Mr. Villiers Bayly may be assigned to the fourteenth century.

By the Rev. H. M. SCARTH.—A diminutive vessel of motley green glazed ware, with a handle and a small spout, found in a bed of sand near Langport, Somerset, and supposed to have been a lamp of very primitive fashion. It had been regarded with interest, on account of its occurrence in a stratum apparently of undisturbed *alluvium*, but the little vessel is probably not more ancient than the fourteenth century, it may be of later date. The spout is formed of a small tube, which extends within the vessel to its bottom. Such a little jug is called, in South Wales, a "dollin."

By Mr. R. T. PRITCHETT, F.S.A.—A fine old sword, the blade stamped with the name of Andrea Ferrara, accompanied by various devices, an armillary sphere, a three-masted ship in full sail, a roundel of the arms of Arragon with those of Castile and Leon quarterly ; bees and crescents ; another roundel in which may be discerned a head in profile and the inscription—+ SIR FR [AN] SISCVS DRACVS ARMIGER.—Also, within an elegantly foliated compartment, a cross potent or Jerusalem cross. This sword, supposed to have belonged to Drake, was found, as stated by Mr. Edward Hawkins, jun., through whom it was obtained for Mr. Pritchett, in a cottage near Brockwear, Gloucestershire. The blade may be contem-

porary with the great naval commander whose name it bears, although possibly not actually used by him; the hilt appears to be of rather later date. Examples occur of swords decorated with medallion portraits, such as the sword of Wolfgang Wilhelm in the Goodrich Court Armory, which displays his portrait with that of Philip III., King of Spain; a sword in the Dover Museum, with medallions of Cromwell, figured in this Journal, vol. ix. p. 306; and a hanger, bearing likewise the head and name of the Protector, with the date 1652, described *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lx. part 1, p. 412. The weapon in Mr. Pritchett's valuable collection of arms was probably a sword of honor presented on some memorable occasion, of which unfortunately all evidence is lost.

By the Right Hon. Lord TORPHICHEN.—A curious clock-watch striking the hours, of skilful construction, with the name of the maker, *Samuel Aspinwall*, engraved upon the works. It was lately found at Lord Torphichen's seat, Calder House, Mid Calder, with other objects of value, in an old cabinet which had not been opened for nearly a century. The outer case of the watch is of steel wrought in open-work studded with silver; the inner case is of silver, likewise of open-work, and amongst the ornamental details are an eagle, a rose, lily, &c. The dial is of silver beautifully engraved, the subject being the accusation of Susannah by the elders. There is only an hour-hand; the hours are struck on a fine-toned bell serving as an inner case within the pierced work. The watch measures about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diam., by 1 in. in thickness; there are two seals appended, one of steel, the other of jasper, engraved with the armorial bearings of the Torphichen family. Mr. Octavius Morgan observed that the date of this watch is about 1650 or 1660; the silver pierced work of floral designs was much in vogue in the time of Charles I. It has a hair-spring and regulator, also a very fine chain which may have been added, in place of the original catgut, about 1675. Mr. Morgan stated that he had not met with the name of Samuel Aspinwall, but, in 1675, Josiah Aspinwall was admitted a brother of the company of clockmakers.

By Mr. HENDERSON, F.S.A.—A choice specimen of Oriental damascened metal-work; it is a slender wand or tube, about 16 inches in length, richly inlaid with gold and silver. At one end there is a diminutive human hand, clenched, and apparently covered with scale armour; there are jeweled rings on the thumb and little finger, the cuff on the wrist is likewise jeweled with rubies and emeralds. On unscrewing the hand, a stiletto may be drawn out of the tube; at the other extremity there is the head of a dragon or monster with ruby eyes, and forming when unscrewed the handle of a little knife. This curious appliance of Eastern luxury has been designated a "scratch-back;" it is believed that in India and other hot climates objects used for that purpose, to which the little hand is well adapted, are not unusual. It has, however, been suggested that it may have served in some synagogue in India as a pointer, or wand used in reading the Law, and called *Yad*, a hand, the reader being forbidden to touch the sacred roll with his fingers. Mr. Octavius Morgan has a pair of small wands of ebony terminating in ivory hands, and possibly intended for such purpose.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—A silver ring recently obtained in Dublin, and of which Mr. Waterton gave the following account:—"It is of a remarkable type, which appears to be exclusively Irish, and it is for this reason that I wish to draw attention to it. The part of the hoop which

corresponds to the bezel projects considerably, tapering almost to a point, and to this is affixed a boss composed of five balls arranged pyramidally. Two similar ornaments are affixed to the shoulders, and the remainder of the hoop is divided into a number of little concave compartments, three of which are blank, and the others contain each a letter, making the inscription AVE MARIA. Mrs. Waterton's *Dactyliotheca* contains a gold ring of a similar type, but without the knobs or bosses. The projecting bezel, the hoop divided into concave compartments, and also the bosses, are features which hitherto I have only observed in rings found in Ireland, and thus this ring fills up a blank in Mrs. Waterton's *Dactyliotheca*. Three or four rings of this type are preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy."

By the Lord LYTTLETON, President of the Institute.—Patent by writ of privy seal, creating Sir Edward Littleton, lately Solicitor-General and then Lord Keeper, Baron Littleton of Mounslow in the county of Salop, with remainder to the heirs male of his body. It is dated 18 Feb., 16 Charles I. (1641-2). The great seal has been detached, and the document, now preserved at Hagley, has been placed in a frame. The parchment measures 30½ inches in breadth by 24½ inches in height. The margins are elaborately emblazoned. In the initial letter is introduced an oval engraved portrait of the king, three-quarters to the right, affixed to the parchment, and colored so as to appear at first sight like an illumination. In the upper margin is introduced an achievement of the Royal arms, between the crest of England and that of Scotland. In the dexter margin is the lion of England holding the banner of St. George; and lower down is the triple plume within a garter ensigned with a crown, and with the initials C. P. In the sinister margin is the unicorn holding the banner of St. Andrew; above and below are escutcheons, one being of the arms of France, the other of Ireland. The margins are ornamented throughout with roses, thistles, honeysuckle, lilies, and other flowers, in colors and gold. In the lower dexter corner there is an oval miniature of the newly-created peer, three-quarters to the right, in black dress, falling band, and black scull-cap; the purse in which the great seal was preserved appears at his side. The portrait resembles that engraved by Van der Gucht, after Vandyck. In the lower sinister corner is introduced an achievement of the arms of the Lord Keeper with numerous quarterings; of these, with other particulars regarding this remarkable document, a detailed account is given by Mr. John Gough Nichols, in the *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. i. Lord Littleton died without issue in 1645, when the barony became extinct.

By the Rev. J. FULLER RUSSELL.—A folio MS. on parchment, in fine preservation and elaborately rubricated. It is a rental of the Abbey of Espinlieu, near Mons in Belgium. The volume is thus entitled:—"Cartulaire des Rentes et Revenues heritables appartenant à leglize et abbaye Nostre Dame d'Espinlieu, empres la ville de Mons, tant en rentes dargent, fors blans et tournois, aussi dauaines, chappons, pains, et fourques empret assis et de sour pluseurs lieux et heritaiges en la ville et terroir de Saint Simphorien, escheant a pluseurs termes, renouvellez sour les anchiens cartulaires et escript de laditte eglise par la prinse que en a esté fait aux anchiennes personnes et connoissant audit lieu, en lan xv. cens et vingt trois, par Anthonne Yeuwain, Recepteur dudit Espinlieu."

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A piece of curiously painted linen cloth, of coarse texture, decorated in water colors on a primed ground, as a substitute for tapestry. It is a portion of a set of wall-hangings formerly, as stated, in

a chamber at Yarde House, Kingsbridge, Devon, and representing subjects of the chase of the boar, &c. The piece exhibited, given to a friend of Mr. Burges by Mr. Robert Swansborough, displays in rude coloring a country house or pavilion, a garden and terrace, with trees planted in vases.—Two framed pieces of elaborately embossed embroidery of the seventeenth century, one of them representing Charles II. as Orpheus charming the animals, the whole being in high relief, and a considerable portion of the dresses, &c., wrought like the knitting of a stocking; the mermaid holds a mirror of tale; a vine, various flowers, and other ornamental work, fill every vacant space. The second specimen, of rather earlier date, represents a shepherd and shepherdess; a lion, stag, &c., near them; and a city appears in the background.

By Mr. HEWITT.—Two fine partizans of the time of Louis XIV., from the collection at the Rotunda, Woolwich, and exhibited by obliging permission of Colonel Lefroy.

MEDIEVAL SEALS.—By Dr. Kendrick, M.D., of Warrington.—A collection of impressions, formerly in possession of the late Dr. Prattinton, of Bewdley, whose extensive Worcestershire collections are now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. Amongst the seals exhibited were some impressions detached from old documents.—Seal of oval form, device a fleur de lys with two birds respectant: legend—+ s' WILELMI: WYNTER.—Seal of circular form, being that of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 16 Eliz., with a portion of the document to which it had been attached, and bearing his signature. Device, an escutcheon with eight quarterings, ensigned with a coronet and surrounded by the garter.—Small circular signet; device, a scorpion or a lobster (?). On the label, Dr. Prattinton has written—"Clifton, No. 28, Sir Hugh de Mortimer, a scorpion."—Seal of the hospital of St. John the Baptist at Lichfield; of pointed oval form; xvi. cent., the legend in letters reversed.—Impression from a circular intaglio, apparently on a piece of metal of irregular form. The device is Sampson astride upon the lion, and tearing open the jaws of the animal. The design, which seems to be of xiv. cent., is spirited. Legend—+ DISTRAIT (sic) HIC: SANSON: HORA: LEONIS: HOMO. A crescent is introduced at the end of this hexameter line. On an angular portion of the metal is cut the Maltravers or Verdon fret. The central intaglio measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter.

March 6, 1863.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the chair.

Mr. R. W. GREY addressed a letter to the Society, inviting special attention to the great interest of the explorations at the Basilica of St. Clement, at Rome. The works undertaken had resulted in the exhumation of what may be termed three distinct strata of constructions, belonging respectively to the three periods of the history of Pagan Rome—the Imperial, the Republican, and that of the Kings. For more than a thousand years this Basilica, noticed by St. Jerome, by Zosimus, Leo the Great, and Gregory the Great, had been wholly forgotten, and no writer has alluded to its existence since the time of the pontiff last named. In 1858 the Archæological Commission commenced excavations which continued until February, 1860. In September, 1861, the researches were resumed under direction of Father Mullooly, who now appeals to archæologists to aid the undertaking. Amongst the valuable results already achieved, may be mentioned mural

paintings of the greatest interest as examples of early art. Donations in aid may be remitted to Mr. Masters, 78, New Bond-street, London. Three most curious photographs of the fresco paintings above mentioned have been sent to this country.

Mr. J. J. ROGERS, M.P., read a notice of some ancient vestiges in West Cornwall. (Printed in this volume, p. 64.)

Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P., gave a short account of three valuable MSS. from the celebrated Hengwrt collection, now deposited at Peniarth, and brought by him for examination. The first was a MS. of the early part of the fourteenth century, being the earliest copy of the works attributed to the celebrated Welsh poet Taliesin. We must not offend our Welsh readers by doubting that such a person existed—in fact, there is no reason to doubt it—but certain it is that much which he never wrote is attributed to him. Taliesin, we believe, is said to have lived in the fifth century; in the volume under consideration, however, there is a reference to Venerable Bede! Mr. Wynne justly observed that the foundation of these poems may be by Taliesin, but that in successive generations they have probably been very greatly altered and added to.—The second MS. exhibited was a service-book of the church of Salisbury, partly of the thirteenth and partly of the fifteenth century. Mr. Wynne observed that he had not carefully examined it, but it was not improbable that it might contain allusions to, or directions for the ceremonial to be observed on the election of a “Boy Bishop.”—The third MS. was one of the thirteenth century, containing the “*Secretum Secretorum*” of Aristotle;—“*De Gulielmo Conquestore*,” a life of William the Conqueror;—and “*Generatio Regum Scocie*,” a history of the Scottish kings, with other tracts.

The following communication by the Rev. H. LOWDER, of Bisley, Gloucestershire, was then read, relating to some Roman remains found at that place, and sent through his kindness to the recent meeting of the Institute at Worcester:—

“During the removal of the south aisle wall of the church of Bisley, in March, 1861, there were discovered, first, a great many ancient monumental cross-slabs employed as building stone in the construction of the wall; they also served as stone gutters in the parapet. After the workmen had removed the plinth of this wall, they dug up, in the south-west corner of the tower, where the west wall of the south aisle abutted upon the tower wall, a large number of calcined stones; among these were two Roman stone altars, from their comparatively small size intended possibly for domestic use. One of these is in very perfect condition, retaining the square focus in which incense or other offerings were burnt, and the marks of fire are still apparent; on one side is carved a figure of Mars beneath a round-headed niche, holding up a hare to a wolf which is jumping at it. This altar measures $25\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $13\frac{1}{2}$ in.; width 5 in. Upon the other altar, which measures 24 in. by 13 in., and 6 inches in width, there remains a mutilated equestrian figure, probably of Castor. Besides these, a capital was found, bearing marks of Roman workmanship. This fragment measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. Without attempting to account with any precision for the presence of these relics in the position in which they were found, the following suggestions may afford some help towards the solution. About a mile and a half from the church there is a field called the Church Piece, in the parish of Oakeridge, in which a Roman villa was discovered some years ago, and its existence made known to archaeologists.

The remains of *thermae* and of a hypocaust were found there. It seems probable that this site was not unknown to the builders of Bisley Church, the most ancient portion of which dates from the eleventh century, while there is reason to conjecture that an earlier church existed. In search for materials the builders may have made use of what was within easy reach, in preference to digging stone on the spot. The presence of so many calcined stones may seem to strengthen the conjecture that they had originally formed part of the hypocaust."

It is remarkable that on neither of the altars above noticed, which seem to be of the oolitic stone of the district, are any traces of inscriptions; other examples of uninscribed altars, however, occur, such as one in London, given by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea*, and another disinterred in a Roman cemetery near Maidstone. That able antiquary informs us in regard to the sculptures at Bisley, that he believes them to be simply allusive to hunting and to war; one was probably set up by a local votary of the chase, the other by an *emeritus* retired from war's alarms. On the first of these interesting sculptures, the figure supposed to represent Mars *Venator* has the *sagum* over body-armour formed with lappets probably of leather; the helm is of extravagant height, terminating like a Phrygian bonnet; the left hand apparently leans upon a shield, which rests on the ground at the side of the figure; the animal leaping up to snatch the hare in the warrior's upraised right hand is probably a hound. The second altar has had its face wholly cut away, possibly to render the stone better available for the mediæval builder. The mounted warrior bears a general resemblance to figures on several sepulchral sculptures, for instance, two found at Watermore, near Cirencester, figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 212. In those and other representations, however, of deceased soldiers, a prostrate foe is usually seen under the feet of the horse, but this feature is wanting in the sculpture at Bisley, which may possibly represent the god of war. He brandishes a sword raised over his crested helm, and protects his face and breast by a large circular shield, recalling those bronze defences repeatedly found in this country; the inner side is here seen with the hollow within the *umbo*, and a transverse bar at the back of the shield which is grasped by the warrior. On the top of the stone there is a small focus, which deserves notice as a proof that the sculpture cannot have been sepulchral.

Mr. HEWITT communicated the following observations on a remarkable sword of the sixteenth century:—

"I am enabled, by the kindness of Colonel Lefroy, to bring before the Institute a very curious example of a two-hand sword of the beginning of the sixteenth century, from the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich. The sword is double-edged, has a plain cross-guard, and pear-shaped pommel. The blade is engraved on both sides, and the ornamental portion has been gilt. On one side appears a figure of Saint George, on the other that of Saint Barbara. Around them is a scroll-pattern in pounced work, including a coat of arms, the bearing being a fesse with a demilion in chief. The cross piece is worked in a twisted pattern. The wire wrapping of the grip is not original. The breadth of the blade at the hilt is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the length of the blade is 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the whole sword measures 4 feet 4 inches. The thinness of the blade is a necessity of the size of this weapon; the ordinary proportions of the knightly sword would render it too heavy to be properly manageable. In one of the wood-

cuts by Hans Burgmair, in the *Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian*, pl. 40, the weapon carried by a two-hand swordsman is almost identical with that preserved at Woolwich. Though this sword is a two-hand one, it may not be without interest to compare the dimensions of the ordinary knightly swords in use through the Middle Ages, and to those may be added one or two examples from the cavalry armament of a more recent date. In the following tabular statement the authorities consulted have been the sculptured figures of princes and knights for the earlier period, and real weapons for the later time. Thus, No. 1 is from the monumental effigy of Henry II. at Fontevrault; No. 2 is from the sculpture of a Montfort in Hitchendon Church, about 1275; No. 3 is from the monument of Sir John de Ifield, at Ifield, Sussex, 1317; No. 4 is from the tomb of the Black Prince at Canterbury; No. 5, from the figure of Talbot, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, at Whitechurch, 1453 (these five from the admirable engravings in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*); No. 6 is a real German sword of about 1450, from Hefner's *Costumes*; No. 7 is from the same work, a very rich sword preserved at Munich, which belonged to Duke Christopher of Bavaria, date 1490 (all the above are cross-swords); No. 8 is the Cromwell sword figured in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. ix. p. 306; No. 9 is the cavalry sword now in use in the British Army.

No.	Date.	Length of blade only.	
		ft.	in.
1. King Henry II.	1189	3	4
2. De Montfort	1275	3	4
3. Sir John Ifield	1317	3	0
4. Black Prince	1376	3	0
5. Talbot	1453	3	2
6. German sword of	1450	3	2
7. Duke of Bavaria	1490	3	3
8. Cromwell sword	1645	2	10½
9. Cavalry sword of	1863	3	0

Curious illustrations of the sword conflict of mounted men will be found in Jost Amman's *Kunstbüchlein*, edit. 1599; Cruso's *Military Instructions for the Cavalry*, in 1632, give a good account of the same subject; and, for the close of the eighteenth century (a time when illustration of horsemen's equipment is somewhat rare), the plates accompanying Colonel Kochler's translation of Warnery's *Remarks on Cavalry*, may be consulted with advantage."

The Rev. H. M. SCARTH then called the notice of the Society to the very curious discoveries recently made near Aldborough, in Suffolk, and of which, as he believed, no communication had been made, with the exception of the interesting narrative addressed during the previous month, accompanied by some illustrative woodcuts, to the *Field* newspaper, by Mr. Francis Francis, with whose obliging permission the following particulars were brought before the meeting.

The road from Snape to Aldborough passes over a wild open tract, now for the most part common covered with whin and bracken, while the inclosed pastures have evidently been reclaimed from the same condition by persevering industry. The greater part, however, is still common and marsh, the river Alde winding along the vale below at a distance of half a mile to a mile. About midway, or rather nearer to Snape, the road passes

between six large barrows, which stand on either side. Of these one measures not less than 28 yards in diameter; its height at the centre may be 7 or 8 feet, but it was originally perhaps of greater elevation. The road had cut off a considerable portion of one of the barrows; three of them stand on the north side of its course, three on the south, in a line east and west and parallel to the road; many other like mounds are scattered over the common, mostly, however, singly, and some at wide distances apart. The three barrows on the north side of the road are upon an enclosed portion of this tract of land not yet under tillage, and belonging to S. Davidson, Esq. The whole of the barrows forming this group had been opened, it is stated, about twenty or thirty years ago, by some persons supposed to have come from London, but nothing is known of the result. Mr. Davidson lately was desirous to make further examination, in the hope of finding some deposit which might have escaped the previous search: his first discovery was the lower portion of a large cinerary urn, of the Anglo-Saxon period, ornamented with scored compartments, triangular and rectangular alternately at intervals, enclosing impressed markings in form somewhat resembling ermine spots. The ware is dark-colored and lustrous: the contents were charred bones forming a hard mass. A few days later Mr. Davidson proceeded to examine the smallest barrow of the group nearest to the east, and Mr. Francis was invited to join in the enterprise. He stated that towards the middle of each of the three mounds there appeared signs of previous diggings to a considerable depth; Mr. Davidson's operations were accordingly directed from the centre towards the circumference. On removing the surface, traces of large fires were distinctly noticed; the soil was a sort of peaty sand, and on cutting through it, layers of charred matter, soft and unctuous to the touch, were seen, whilst in some places the soil was black and caked, as if by the effect of some substance which had produced this caking: these appearances were supposed to indicate the actual spots where human corpses had been consumed, the bones having been collected and deposited in the urns. These hard core-like places, burned almost to the consistence of brick, occasionally indicated the neighbourhood of an urn, and they occurred in all parts of the mounds, apparently without regularity. On proceeding to the larger tumulus towards the west, of which a considerable portion has been cut off by the road, a fine urn, of Saxon character and dark lustrous ware, was fortunately found perfect: it is ornamented with scorings, vertical ribs, and a cruciform pattern at intervals. Its form is globular, contracted at the neck, and slightly expanding at the rim, resembling urns disinterred by Lord Braybrooke at Linton and Wilbraham. It contained calcined bones. Another vase, entirely crushed, lay near it. In the course of this excavation large quantities of broken jagged flints were found, and all around near the tumuli were heaps of these broken flints; a few fragments seemed on close examination to bear some rude resemblance to implements or arrow points. The locality is not a flint country, and it is a remarkable fact that so large a quantity of fragments of silex should be found collected in one spot. Mr. Davidson determined, encouraged by this success, to cut a wide trench across the centre of the principal tumulus: the first result of this laborious operation was the discovery of an urn of very different fashion and age; it is of the familiar type occurring with early British remains, the ware coarse and cracked, the upper part scored or moulded in parallel bands, horizontal

and diagonal ; it had been placed inverted, and was empty. One or two iron spear-heads were found at the same time, and portions of the wooden shaft remained in the socket ; numerous fragments of urns were noticed : there were no bones, and it may deserve consideration whether these remains of the dead had wholly perished when the urns had become decayed or crushed. Mr. Francis inclined to think that the absence of any bony matter in connection with the pottery in this part of the exploration was due to such a cause. The diggings hitherto had exposed to view vestiges apparently of mixed character and periods, deposited at various depths, from one to three feet, and in all parts of the mound. It is obvious that these were in all probability secondary interments, and Mr. Davidson proceeded to explore at a lower level, and to examine the undisturbed soil upon which the mound had been raised. On trenching deeply, the soil no longer presented any appearance of the black strata or peaty matter, and consisted of bright yellow sand. Whilst digging in this, remains of woodwork were noticed, and on careful examination it seemed to have formed a kind of flooring ; the wood was decayed, but retained its form and fibre. On proceeding cautiously, fragments of glass appeared, and close to them a mass of human hair of dark dingy red color, the quantity being about as much as a single head of hair : no trace of a cranium could be discovered, but the hair or the skull which it had covered had evidently been wrapped in a coarse cloth, of which, although its fabric had totally perished by decay, the texture and the warp and woof were distinctly to be discerned : about four feet from it lay a smaller mass of hair, but no vestige of bones could be detected. It is a question not undeserving of the investigation of anatomists, under what conditions, or after what lapse of time, human bones may totally disappear and become resolved into their natural elements, whilst the hair alone is preserved, apparently indestructible under the action of decay through which the hard bony substances become wholly consumed. A remarkable evidence that this may occur, probably under peculiar local conditions, is presented at a much later period than the remains disinterred in Suffolk, namely, at Romsey Abbey Church, where a leaden coffin was found in 1839, in which had been deposited in a shell or inner chest of oak the corpse of a young female ; all the bones had wholly fallen to dust, and nothing appeared except the scalp of beautiful flowing hair with long plaited locks found in the position where the head had rested, as on a pillow, upon a block of oak, which may have contributed to the remarkable preservation of the hair.⁷ The glass fragments before mentioned appeared, on carefully arranging them, to have been a two-handled vase supported on four feet ; the material is pale green-colored glass, described as corrugated ; there was also a portion of a second vessel. In clearing away the sand, a fine gold ring of large dimensions was thrown out : it was decorated elaborately with filigree, and set with an intaglio on onyx, the device being a nude figure holding ears of corn in one hand. The ring, and also the hair, the broken vase, and some small fragments, as supposed, of jasper, lay apparently on the middle of the woodwork before noticed, and which at first sight might have been considered to be the floor of a wooden cist. Its real character had yet to be ascertained. All around were noticed at equal distances small masses of iron, encrusted with sand, and entirely

⁷ Spence's Abbey Church of Romsey, p. 58 ; Gent. Mag. Aug. 1840.

oxidized: these were hollow in some places, so as to suggest that they might have been remains of iron weapons, bosses of a shield, or the like. A few days later, on carefully clearing out the excavation, these objects of iron were traced throughout the length of the trench; it is believed that they were satisfactorily proved to have been large nail-heads or fastenings of the timber framing. On either side there were six rows exactly corresponding; they appeared distinctly to indicate the ribs of a boat which had fallen into decay: these iron bolts were all in a horizontal position, but on arriving at the flooring or bottom of the vessel they appeared in a vertical position. The two ends of the boat were distinctly traced: it had measured about 46 to 48 feet in length, and about 10 feet in width at the midships: the woodwork at the bottom, although quite rotten, was sufficiently defined to show distinctly what had been its construction. The precise position in which the ring, the hair, and the broken glass vessel were found, was the middle of this ancient vessel, whether to be regarded as a Roman galley, or the stoutly constructed sea-boat of some Northman, it will be for the archæologist to determine. The general outline indicated skilful construction and knowledge of the principles of ship-building. The vestiges were subsequently examined by a person conversant with naval matters, who fully confirmed the supposition that they were the remains of a vessel.

Mr. YATES offered some observations on points of special interest in Mr. Francis' narrative; he adverted to a discovery of a Roman interment at Geldestone, in the same quarter of England as the locality in which these curious sepulchral vestiges had now been brought to light; in that discovery (described in Mr. Yates' memoir in this Journal, vol. vi., p. 109), the deposit was made in a receptacle formed with oaken planks, and was likewise accompanied by a glass *diota* containing bones of a child. Mr. Yates cited some facts illustrative of the total disappearance of bony matter in graves, under certain conditions, as shown in Mr. Francis' explorations near Snape.

Mr. GREAVES, Q.C., stated some facts from personal observation relating to the same subject. A new approach was made to Worcester College, during Mr. Greaves' residence at Oxford, across an old cemetery of the Grey Friars' Convent; excavations were made for cellars on each side of the new street, and they were cut so as to give a cross section of the graves, which were formed in a stratum of compact gravel so that their forms were perfectly distinct. Instead of being dug perpendicularly, each side sloped gradually to the place where the body had lain, the width of the grave at the surface being possibly a yard. The bones had entirely perished, all that remained being a dark seam at the bottom of the grave. Mr. Greaves had observed generally that wherever water can percolate from the surface and carry the existing temperature with it, all perishable matters rapidly go to decay; there is nothing through which water percolates more freely than loose gravel or sand, and the total disappearance of the bodies in the cemetery at Oxford led him to infer that the same cause had produced the destruction of all remains of the corpse in the barrow at Snape. The question claims consideration on various grounds, and especially with reference to the fact that ancient implements occur in gravel in which no human remains are to be found. In regard to the preservation of the hair, Mr. Greaves suggested that it might be owing to unctuous substances commonly used, it is believed, amongst the Scandinavians and other ancient nations.

M. HENRI PLOX, printer to H.M. the Emperor of the French, addressed a letter inviting the attention of archæologists to an important publication

by order of the Emperor, the "Trésor des Chartes," a complete collection of the documents preserved in the archives of the empire, nearly 17,000 in number, from the year 755 to 1559. The first volume of this important series, which will consist of nine quarto volumes, has recently been published at Paris.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Hon. HENRY COWPER.—A flint celt of comparatively unusual dimensions and perfection in workmanship; it was found in clay, at a depth of three feet, on the estates of the Earl Cowper at Panshanger, Herts. The cutting edge, it will be observed, although it is still sharp, has been considerably chipped and injured by use at a remote period. Implements of such long proportions are comparatively uncommon; a good specimen of somewhat similar form found in Aberdeenshire, length nearly 7 in., is figured in the Catalogue of the Museum, Edinburgh Meeting of the Institute, p. 10.

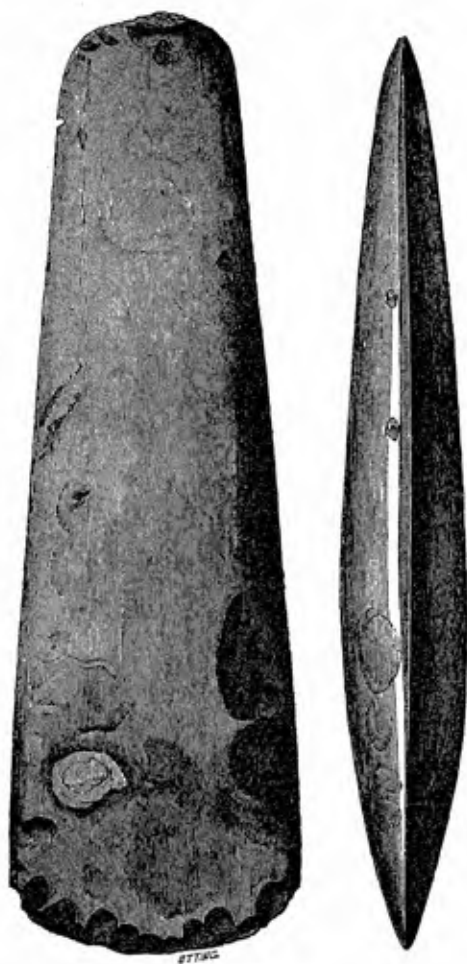
By the SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, through Mr. Blaauw.—A collection of bronze palstaves, socketed celts, also a bronze mould for casting celts, and two broken bronze blades; these relics, presented to the Society's Museum in Lewes Castle by the Rev. G. M. Cooper, were found in 1861, in draining pasture land at Wilmington, Sussex. They had been deposited in an urn of coarse pottery. See Mr. Cooper's memoir in *Sussex Archæol. Coll.*, vol. xiv., p. 171.

By Mr. C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.—A very fine tragic mask of terracotta, found at Torre del Greco on the Bay of Naples.

By Mr. THOMAS PRICE, of Rhug near Corwen, through Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, M.P.—Specimens of a large hoard of Roman coins found in an urn near Maesmor, in a field near the road leading to Bettws; the spot is situated in Denbighshire near the borders of Merionethshire. The pieces sent were small brass coins of Constantine, one being of the usual type, *Urbs Roma*, &c. There are some ancient mounds in the neighbourhood, and Mr. Price suggested that there had probably been a Roman way into Flintshire by Maesmor and Bettws to the Vale of Clwyd, which he had sought to trace.

By Mr. ROBERT PHILLIPS.—A large bronze Japanese vase, obtained from the Japan Court at the International Exhibition. It has two handles in form of bulls' heads, and a third of like fashion near the base, as if intended to tilt the vessel, which is supposed to be of considerable antiquity. It has some peculiar ornamental roundels attached around the upper part.

By the Rev. H. T. ELLACOMBE, F.S.A.—Casts of a pair of heads, forming corbels or terminations of a dripstone moulding over the west window of the church of Clyst St. George, Devon. He has kindly presented the accompanying woodcuts of these relics of fifteenth-century sculpture. The male head is much damaged; it is covered with a singular kind of skull-cap, the fashion of which is not easily to be understood; it appears at first sight to be a warlike head-piece, a kind of salade, but Mr. Ellacombe was informed by Mr. Planché that it is a coif, and that the person here portrayed was doubtless a civilian, date about 1410. The heart-shaped, reticulated head-dress with a cover-chief thrown over it is of that period: in its more exaggerated form amongst the female fashions probably intro-



Celt of light-colored Flint found at Panshanger, Hertfordshire.

Exhibited by the Hon. Henry Cowper.

Length of the original $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

duced from France by the Queen of Henry V., the horned head-dress provoked the satire of Jean de Meun and the popular writers of the day.



The carved heads here figured were doubtless intended to portray some parishioner and his wife who were benefactors to the church of Clyst, and by whom the western end and tower may have been rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The patronage belonged to the Abbey de Valle S. Marise, in Normandy, but it was transferred before the fourteenth century to the Priory of Merton, Surrey.* The manor had been the property of the Champernownes, and subsequently of Sir William de Herle, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; it was afterwards held by Lord Bonville, and by the Prideaux family. There is, however, no evidence by which these curious corbel-heads may be identified as memorials of any particular persons; examples are not wanting, in Devonshire and elsewhere, of representations of benefactors to the fabric introduced in like manner as at Clyst.

By Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P.—A rubbing from a boss upon the magnificent rood-loft and screen of sculptured oak in the church of Llanegryn, Merionethshire; date about the close of the fifteenth century. It is figured in the Glossary of Architecture, edit. 1845, pl. 122. The device or monogram upon this boss appears intended for the Arabic numerals 7 and 4 (or 4 and 7), and probably on a second boss there may have been the Arabic numerals 1 and 4, the whole denoting 1474 as the date of the work.—Rubbing of an early incised cross on the south wall of the church of Llanegryn.

By Messrs. LETTS.—A map recently published at Brussels, entitled "*Carte Archéologique, Ecclesiastique et Nobiliaire de la Belgique, dressée d'après les publications des Académies et Sociétés savantes, &c. à l'échelle de 1 à 200,000, par Joseph Van der Maelen.*" Besides indications of camps, roads, tumuli, Roman stations, tombs, battles, &c., sites are marked where weapons, coins or ancient remains, have been found, indicating the periods to which they belong respectively. The ecclesiastical and territorial divisions, positions of monasteries, &c., are also shown. The map, measuring about 56 inches by 44, appears to be executed with care; it might serve as a model for a map of our own country in ancient and mediæval times, an auxiliary to the studies both of the antiquary and the historian much to be desired.

* See Dr. Oliver's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon*, vol. i., p. 151.

By Mr. ROBERT FOX.—A plain gold betrothal ring, inscribed with the following posy within the hoop,—God continue love to us.—It was presented to Mr. Fox about twenty-seven years since by a relation, and may have been a marriage gift worn in the seventeenth century by some person of his family, at that time settled at Yardly, Worcestershire.—A silver coin of James VI., king of Scots, found in draining at Cowden, Kent, about six inches below the surface. The field in which it was found still shows numerous indications of old diggings for iron ore, and in the immediate neighbourhood there is a large piece of water known as the "Furnace Pond." The iron railings which surround St. Paul's churchyard were cast, according to local tradition, in that locality; they were, however, as has been ascertained, made at the Gloucester furnaces, Lamberhurst, Kent.

By the Rev. JAMES BECK.—Several gold rings inscribed with posies, also gimmel-rings, puzzle-rings and betrothal-rings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some of them jeweled. That earliest in date is a broad massive hoop, but of small diameter, suited for a lady's finger; it was dug up at Godstow Priory, Oxfordshire. The decoration on the hoop consists of three lozenge-shaped panels, in which are represented the Trinity, the B. Virgin with the infant Saviour, and a Saint, nimbed, clad in a monastic habit with the cowl falling upon his shoulders. The intervening spaces are chased with foliage and flowers of the forget-me-not; the whole surface was enriched with enamel, of which no remains are now visible. Within the hoop is delicately engraved in small black-letter character—

Most in mynd and yn myn herrt
Lothest from you ferto departt.

Date early in the fifteenth century.—A plain gold hoop, which has been tooled diagonally, and may have been enameled; within is engraved—DEVX · CORPS · VNG · CVER—with the initials C. M. united by a true-love knot. Found in 1862 at Glastonbury Abbey. Date sixteenth century.—Gold ring, formed of three hoops united by a rivet at the lower side; the head of the ring consists of conjoined hands, and under these there is a small heart-shaped receptacle for hair; the wrists are jeweled with small turquoises.—Gold gimmel of three hoops, one of them inscribed within—AMOUR · ET · CONSTANCE.—A pretty Italian ring of cinquecento work, set with a ruby; the hoop enameled, and formed with a *fede* at the lower part, opposite to the bezel.—Three "puzzle-rings," one of them of gold, consisting of seven slender rings linked together, which, when properly adjusted, combine in a knot; another, of silver, of four slight rings, set with a blue stone and ornamented with flowers of forget-me-not; the third, likewise of silver, consisting of nine rings which when intertwined unite so as to present a *fede* as the head of the ring.—Several plain gold betrothal rings of the seventeenth century inscribed with the following posies, in each case within the hoop:—

I haue obtaind, whom god ordaind.—(Goldsmith's mark RC.)
God unite our hearts aright.—(Marked ID.)
Knitt in one by Christ alone.—(Marked D.)
Wee Ioyne our lous in god aboue.—(Marked WW.)
Ioynd in one by god a lone
God above send peace and love.

Also six small oval Battersea enamels, suited for the covers of patch-

boxes, &c., the decorations printed in black and transferred to the enameled surface; the subjects are rural and pastoral scenes.

By Mr. ROBERT H. SMITH.—A gold Etruscan ring, and a Sassanian signet-ring of cornelian.

By Mr. W. STUART.—Three gold cups, set with diagonal rows of uncut rubies, probably of old Delhi work.

By Mr. H. G. BOHN.—Several specimens of Chinese enameled work, chiefly from the plunder of the Summer Palace, consisting of a sacred incense-burner in form of a bird; a basin of remarkably beautiful coloring; a large beaker; a bottle and stand; another bottle curiously enameled in relief; a large deep dish, considered to be very ancient, human figures in curious costume are introduced in the decorations, a feature of rare occurrence; a pair of small vases; also a remarkable tall vase, described as of Japanese enamel, supposed to be an incense-burner serving also as a cap-stand, it being the common practice to perfume the head-covering by placing it on such a stand, in fashion like a lantern.—Four plaques of jade inscribed in gold with sentences, as stated, from the writings of Confucius.—A small Chinese cylindrical vase of tortoise-shell, decorated with gold in *piqué* work. Also a piece of stained glass with the figure of St. Christopher, dated 1423, probably a reproduction of the rare woodcut of that period.

April 10, 1863.

The Very Rev. Canon Rock, D.D., in the Chair.

The first communication was a report from the Secretary of the Wroxeter Excavation Committee at Shrewsbury, Dr. HENRY JOHNSON, M.D., relating to the recent progress of investigations on the site of *Uriconium*. During the latter part of the past year the old diggings had not been touched, but the excavations have been kept open, and they have attracted numerous visitors. In October last the ground where the North Gate is supposed to have stood was examined, in order to ascertain whether any vestiges existed. The foundations of the city wall were found running in the direction of Norton, but no trace of a gateway appeared. Some excavations were also made in the cemetery on the east side of the city, and they afforded sufficient evidence that the burial-ground had extended thus far from the gate. The work was carried on at the request of Mr. Thomas Wright, who has in preparation a detailed work on Wroxeter and the recent explorations. Amongst the vestiges and ancient relics discovered may be enumerated the substructure of a square building: there was no floor, nor any trace of human remains; it had, however, the general appearance of a place of sepulture. About a dozen urns were found, of various dimensions and forms, some of them containing incinerated human bones; and in a few instances the small glass *ampullæ*, usually designated "lachrymatories," were found; in one of these little vessels, taken by Dr. Johnson's own hands out of an urn filled with bones and sand, he was enabled to detect traces of oil. These little bottles doubtless contained unguents or perfumes. A beautiful globular vase of clear glass was found in perfect state, and also a bottle, measuring 8 inches in height, both of them being excellent examples of the skill of the Romans in the fabrication of glass. Also an entire *speculum*, measuring 4 inches in diameter, and a second in fragments; the former is slightly convex, so as to enlarge the face reflected

in it; these mirrors appear to be of copper with a large proportion of tin, rendering the metal white, very brittle, and capable of bearing a brilliant surface. Several fictile lamps have been disinterred; these appear to be of foreign manufacture; one of them presents a head of Hercules, as indicated by the skin of the Nemean lion. Dr. Johnson described, moreover, a singular relic of bronze, which had been, according to the suggestion of a medical friend, an object of surgical use, a kind of lancet to be used in operations similar to the modern cupping, and to which allusion is made by Celsus and other ancient writers. Dr. Johnson observed, however, very truly, that the use of bronze for any instrument of this nature is highly improbable, whilst iron was readily obtained and generally employed for implements or weapons of every kind. The Museum at Shrewsbury had, as he observed, been greatly augmented by the recent investigations, and it now presents a series of very instructive character.

The Rev. F. W. BAKER, of Beaulieu, Hants, gave an account of excavations for several years in progress on the site of Beaulieu Abbey, by direction of the Duke of Buccleuch. An accurate plan of the church and conventual buildings was shown by Mr. Baker, with other interesting illustrations of the architectural and monumental remains which have been brought to light and preserved through His Grace's care and judicious arrangements. Amongst remarkable results of the investigation, Mr. Baker related the discovery of the remains and incised memorial of Isabella, wife of Richard king of the Romans, brother of Henry III. The heart of Richard was also, according to Leland, deposited at Beaulieu. A full description of the conventual arrangements, the church, and relics rescued from oblivion at Beaulieu in the course of long-continued explorations in which Mr. Baker has keenly participated, will be given hereafter.

The Chairman, in expressing the esteem with which the practical encouragement of archaeological science by the Duke of Buccleuch, and other distinguished patrons of the Institute, must be regarded, took occasion to advert to the varied character of researches both in foreign countries and at home, of which the fruits were constantly placed at the disposal of the Institute at their periodical meetings. Dr. Rock wished also to call attention to an important work in course of publication, in accordance with a commission from the Emperor of Austria to Dr. Franz Böck, canon of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, and an honorary corresponding member of the Archaeological Institute. That learned archaeologist, well known through his beautiful history of mediæval tissues, has long been engaged in collecting materials for a work on the Imperial Regalia, entitled *Clenodia sacri Romani Imperii*; the portion already completed was shown in the Austrian division at the International Exhibition. During his researches in the Treasury at Aix-la-Chapelle, Dr. Böck had made a discovery of interest to English antiquaries. The emperors, it appears, were crowned thrice—with the iron crown of Lombardy, at Monza, with the golden imperial crown, at Rome, and with the silver crown of Germany, at Aix. The latter is still preserved, but with a comparatively modern addition, giving it the arched or closed fashion of a later period; it appears to have been made, probably in England, for Richard, brother of Henry III., elected king of the Romans, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1257. He took over with him a crown and robes; in the archives of the church a document is preserved, by which Richard presented his regalia as an offering on the altar at his coronation.

Mr. W. MOLYNEUX, of Stafford, who is engaged in preparing a History of that town shortly to be published, described certain remains of a mediæval structure brought to light by him in excavations on the estates of the Marquis of Anglesea at Beaudesert, Staffordshire, within an extensive entrenchment on Cannock Chase, known as Castle Ring. This interesting subject is reserved for future publication.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Count d'ALBANIE.—A leaden *glans* or pellet for the sling, stated to have been found amongst the scoria of an extensive ancient lead-working in the kingdom of Granada. It is believed that the mine was worked by the Romans and also by the Celtiberians, and the scoria are still smelted in order to extract portions of silver. The curious *glans* exhibited by the Count bears the word, in inverted letters, *ACIPE*—namely *accipe*, which may be compared with similar inscriptions upon leaden pellets found in Greece, such as *ΔΕΞΑΙ*—take this—and the like, given in Böckh, *Corp. Inscr.*, tom. i., p. 311. These little missiles, which have been found on the plain of Marathon and elsewhere, are of a form between that of the acorn and the almond. A valuable memoir on these *glandes* has been given by Mr. Walter Hawkins, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii., p. 96, in reference to a specimen found lodged in the walls of Samé in Cephalonia, and inscribed with Greek characters signifying "Appear," or "Show yourself." A series of more than seventy varieties of inscribed *glandes* is given by the learned Mommsen, in the recently published volume of the great *Corpus* of Roman Inscriptions, produced at Berlin under the direction of the Prussian government. Mr. Fortnum possesses four specimens found at Perugia, of which two are inscribed. Of these one bears the inscription—*ATIDI · PR · FIL · LEG · VI*—Atidius being probably the name of the *Primipilus* or chief centurion and bearer of the eagle; the other bears the letters—*OCTAVI*, explained as indicating that it was used in the civil wars at the close of the Republic.

By Mr. MOLYNEUX.—Ancient relics found in excavations at the Castle Ring, on Cannock Chase, Staffordshire. They consisted of pottery, objects of metal, flint chippings or flakes, an ancient implement resembling a mason's chisel, strips of lead, horns of the stag, &c.

By the Duke of BUCKLEUCH, K.G.—A vessel of stone ware found in excavations on the site of Beaulieu Abbey, Hants. It is of late Flemish manufacture.

By Mr. H. FARRER, F.S.A.—A beautiful *pax* of silver parcel-gilt, date fifteenth century, in the original case of *cuir bouilli*; a statuette of Venus, a specimen of cinque-cento art, and a tazza of Limoges art in the sixteenth century, painted in *grisaille*.—Also a curious bust sculptured in boxwood, and supposed to represent queen Fredegonde, consort of Chilperic.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—An ewer of Chinese work, enriched with *cloisonné* enamel.

By Mr. JOSEPH BOND.—A chalice, and a tazza of silver gilt.

By the Rev. LAMBERT LARKING.—A brass object found in Kent, probably part of the mounting of a weapon or official staff. It is ornamented with the triple plume of the Prince of Wales, and underneath is introduced the wild horse of the heraldic bearing of Saxony.

May 1, 1863.

The Lord LYTTLTON, M.A., F.R.S., President, in the chair.

AN unusually numerous assembly was attracted on this occasion by the promised discourse of PROFESSOR WILLIS on the Cathedral of Worcester and the Conventual buildings, supplementary to the Architectural History of that church given by him at the meeting of the Institute in Worcester. He had prolonged his stay there, and availed himself of facilities afforded by the repairs at that time in progress, more especially in the Chapter House and adjoining buildings. The results of these investigations were now brought before the Society by Professor Willis. He explained certain peculiar features in the crypt, as compared with the crypts at Winchester, Gloucester, and Canterbury. The most interesting portion of his discourse related to the Chapter House, of which the original Norman work had been so disguised by fourteenth-century alterations, that it had been considered a building of the Transition period. The removal of bookcases with which it was encumbered had brought to light the fine arcade and polychromatic decorations of the interior, and minute examination proved it to be a genuine Norman structure of very curious character. This portion of Professor Willis' valuable Dissertation will be given in the Transactions of the Institute of British Architects.

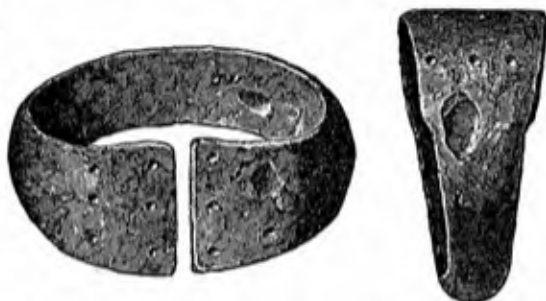
The noble President, in moving thanks to Professor Willis for this valuable addition to his discourse received with great gratification at Worcester, adverted to the pleasure with which he (Lord Lyttelton) had listened to that lucid exposition of the History of the great Architectural Monument of his county. The learned Professor had invested it henceforth with fresh interest. The Society would warmly appreciate the kindness of Professor Willis, in consenting to bring before his archæological friends those supplementary details of his researches at Worcester, which had excited unusual interest amongst his professional friends at a recent meeting of the Institute of British Architects.

Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P., gave a short account of the celebrated *Llyfr-du*, or Black Book of Caermarthen, which he brought for examination. It had formerly been preserved at the Priory of St. John the Evangelist at Caermarthen, but now forms part of the valuable Hengwrt collection of MSS. in Mr. Wynne's possession. Mr. Duffus Hardy had confirmed the opinion of other able palæographers that the MS. is in the writing of the twelfth century, and it is believed that this statement is confirmed by internal evidence. The volume contains a collection of Welsh poetry, including odes, probably of contemporary date, addressed to some of the ancient princes of Wales. Mr. Wynne supposes a large portion of the MS. to be in the handwriting of a celebrated bard named Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr. Mr. Wynne announced that the *Llyfr-du* would shortly be published, under the editorship of Mr. W. F. Skene, in the ancient and modern Welsh with an English translation. Fac-similes of some pages prepared by Mr. F. Netherclift for that publication were exhibited. Mr. Wynne brought also a licence of alienation of lands in Peniarth, Merionethshire, in the reign of Henry VII.; and a document, *temp.* Henry V., under which his ancestors became possessed of estates at that place.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D.—A curious bronze ornament lately found in Flintshire; it measures about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length, by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; on the upper side is a circular cruciform ornament, which may have been enameled. It had evidently been used as a pendant, possibly of a talismanic character, and has a large perforation at its upper end, apparently for suspension. A leaden seal, described hereafter, was found near the spot where this singular relic was brought to light. A similar object found in Merionethshire, and described as a "British amulet," is figured Arch. Camb. vol. iii. p. 97, and in this Journal, vol. viii. p. 219.

By Sir RODERICK MURCHISON, Director of the Museum of Practical Geology.—A bronze armlet, of very unusual fashion, here figured about



one-third less than the size of the original. This object is penannular, the extremities dilated, thinner than the other part of the hoop, and coarsely ornamented with two rows of somewhat indistinct punctures on each of the flat broad ends. It was found with another bronze armlet of smaller size, about 1839, with portions of a human skeleton; it lay 3 feet deep in marl, at Stoke Prior, Worcestershire. The discovery occurred in the formation of the Birmingham and Gloucester Railway. The second armlet was perfectly plain, more massive and of greater breadth than that here figured. Some blocks of dressed sandstone, apparently vestiges of a building, lay near the spot.—See Allies' *Antiqu. of Worcestershire*, second edit., p. 111. This relic, a type, of which as it is believed no example had been noticed in this country, has been presented to the British Museum. There exists in the collection there preserved a silver armlet ornamented with impressed circles, which bears resemblance in general fashion to that found in Worcestershire; it was obtained from the collection of the late Dr. Comarmond, of Lyons.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—A crucifix of German workmanship, sculptured in wood, date sixteenth century; it was purchased at Aix-la-Chapelle.—Also several rings and ring-brooches. Of the former, one of gold is engraved with the *chanson* or *posy*—FOR. TOVS. IOVRS.—Another, set with a sapphire, has the shoulders chased with griffins' heads.—On the bezel of the third, probably of Florentine work, is a female head nielloed, and on the hoop a scroll inscribed AVE · MARIA.—Lastly, an Italian ring of cinquecento character retaining its original setting, a garnet.—A silver seal, device an escutcheon charged with a merchant's mark: legend—SIGILLV.

MAGISTRI · PETRI · IONGE.—A silver ring-brooch nielloed, with the legend—
 †IHESVS · NAZARENVS · REX · IYDAEORVM. It was found in the old garden
 at Terregles, Dumfriesshire, and presented to Mr. Waterton by the Hon. M.
 C. Maxwell.—Another silver brooch enriched with niello, obtained at
 Florence in 1860; the hoop is three-edged, and bears the following mystic
 or cabalistic inscription on the upper side:—

†EZERA EZERA ERABELAGAN.

†GVGGVGBALTERANI · ALPHA ET ω.

and, on the flat surface underneath—

†AOTVONO OIO MO · O · OIOAV.

By Mr. T. SELBY EGAN.—A diptych and a crucifix sculptured in box-wood, both enclosing relics.

By Colonel LEFROY, through Mr. Hewitt.—Two wheel-lock pistols from the Museum at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich; one being of the close of the sixteenth century, the other of the beginning of the seventeenth; both are highly ornamented with chasing and inlaid silver. The ironwork also of one is damascened in gold and silver; the decorations on the stock are chiefly hunting and hawking subjects. Mr. Hewitt remarked, that probably these arms were not intended for war but for the chase; as an illustration of the use of such pistols in field sports, he placed before the meeting a detached wheel-lock, on which is engraved a mounted *chasseur* accompanied by his hounds; his attendant on foot appears in the act of discharging a pistol, similar to one of those exhibited, at a stag and hind which he had overtaken.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—Three steel locks, remarkable examples of the *serrurerie* of Nuremberg in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, enriched with elegant designs etched and engraved on the metal. The largest of these locks, of steel of the most perfect temper and workmanship, consists of not less than 159 distinct pieces.—A curious *briquet* or steel for striking a light, date sixteenth century.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—An Asiatic sabre with European mounting; the blade is covered with representations of hunting scenes, men and animals, including some of fabulous character, chased out of the solid steel. This fine weapon was taken from an Affghan chief slain in fight. Blades thus decorated with figures, animals, &c., are rare.—An early Asiatic matchlock pistol, from the collection of the late General Codrington; also two daggers, called *kuttars*, ornamented with figures chased out of the solid metal.

By Mr. F. NETHERCLIFT.—A transcript of the "Magna Charta de Forestis," 9 Henry III., with a well-preserved impression of the Great Seal.

By Mr. GEORGE WENTWORTH.—A document preserved amongst the evidences at Woolley Park, Yorkshire, and relating to a lease of the park of Creskeld near Otley, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, now written Kirskill. Some curious particulars concerning Creskeld have already been given, through Mr. Wentworth's kindness, in this Journal, vol. xviii., p. 60. He now pointed out that "Lamely," where a document previously given was dated, and which he had sought in vain to identify, is Lambley near Nottingham. Sir Ralph de Cromwell, who had possessions there held of the honor of Tickhill, was party to the following indenture dated at Lambley in 1353, and containing certain precautions for the preservation of woods in the aforesaid park from injury by cattle placed therein on

agistment or otherwise, whereby the young growth after periodical cutting might be destroyed. To this document is appended the seal of Sir Richard de Goldesburgh, the device being an escutcheon charged with a cross pattée, as described by Mr. Wentworth. The instrument is as follows:—

“Ceste endenture faite entre monsire Rauf de Cromwell chevalier, dune part, et monsire Richard de Goldesburgh chivalier, dautre part, temoigne que come le dit monsire Richard soit tenu au dit monsire Rauf en quarant livres desterlinges à paier à certains jours, sicom plus pleinement en un escript de ceo fait est contenuz, ne purquant le dit monsire Rauf voels et graunte por lui et por ses executours que à quel hure que le dit monsire Richard face couper ou avera coupé le park de Creskeld ou partie de ceo, que si le dit monsire Richard deinz les cink aunz procheinz apres le dit couper fait ne suffre que le dit park soit brouncé por bestes gistez, ne por ses bestes propres, ne aubres, ne destruit, que a donques le dit escrit obligatorie perde sa force et de tut soit anientie, en qui mains que il deviegne; et si deinz les cink aunz procheins avant ditz apres le couper avant ditz en le park avant dit bestes seient agistez ou mises, porqui le dit park soit destruis et brouncez, et les tendrons en ceo crossantz pues et defoles, estoise la dite obligation en sa force. En tesmoignance de queles choses les parties avant ditz à cestes endentures entre changeablement out mis lur seals. Doné à Lamely le Vendredi lendemain de lassension notre Seignour, lan du regne le roi Edward tierce puis le conquest vint septisme.” (A.D. 1353.)

By Mr. LEWIS L. DILLWYN, M.P.—A fine oval medallion of Oliver Cromwell, in gilt bronze; length $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the bust looks to the left. It is in high relief; the Protector is represented in armour, which, as well as the head, is highly finished; the hair is long, hanging over the shirt-collar, the folds of which, and also the hair, are very skilfully arranged. The ground is matted with minute dots, and the medallion has been cast, and afterwards very finely chased. According to tradition, it was given by the Protector to Colonel Nichol his secretary, who died unmarried, and his property, library, and effects passed to his brother, an ancestor of the present possessor of the medallion.

MEDIEVAL SEALS.—By the Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D.—Impression of a leaden matrix found lately on newly ploughed land in the parish of Tremerchion, near St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph, where it is now preserved. It is of circular form, diam. $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; the central compartment, or field of the seal within the inscribed margin, is crossed by four lines, so as to present a device resembling a wheel with eight spokes. Legend—s':ITHEL FIL' KVN(v)RICI. On the reverse there was a small perforated shank for suspension. This seal has been figured in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. ix., third series, p. 244, and two pedigrees are there given, in each of which an Ithel ap Cynwrig is found, about A.D. 1400. The seal appears, however, to be of an earlier period. It had been assigned to Ithel (velyn o Iâl) in the twelfth century, but he was son of Llewelyn Aurdorchog.—Silver seal of oval form, measuring about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by rather more than three-quarters of an inch. The device consists of the B. Virgin holding a lily in her hand, with the infant Saviour on her left arm, and standing under a tree which occupies the middle of the seal; on the other side of the tree is seen a man kneeling, with the following inscription in black letter on a scroll which issues from his hands raised to his breast—*Mater dei miserere mei*. Date fifteenth century.

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1862.

RECEIPTS.

Balance at Banker's, December 31, 1861	£	s.	d.
" in Secretary's hands	14	7	8
" " " "	53	8	9
Petty Cash.	9	10	2
Annual Subscriptions, including Arrears	471	6	0
Entrance Fees	25	4	0
Life Compositions	21	0	0
Sale of Publications of the Institute	46	13	0
Net Receipts, Worcester Meeting, including Donations for Local expenses	139	2	3

EXPENDITURE.

Publication Account:	£	s.	d.
Printing Archaeological Journal, Bradbury & Co.	340	0	0
Drawing and Engraving	53	5	0
Binding, &c.	14	4	
House Expenses Account:	395	19	4
Rent of Rooms (Three Quarters)	120	0	0
Paid to Secretary	85	0	0
Library Account:	295	0	0
Paid Mr. Howe for Binding	25	0	0
Books, &c., purchased	5	2	9
Petty Cash Account:	30	2	9
Stationery	11	16	3
Housekeeper's Wages and Disbursements	22	7	8
Messengers and Attendance	16	16	11
Delivery of Journals, Postage	17	15	10
" " Town delivery	2	19	6
Postage, Booking and Carriage of Parcels, &c.	15	17	4
Cab-hire, and other Office Expenses	1	0	3
Repaid Mr. Nesbitt, Post Office Order	2	6	3
Paid for Transcripts for the Journal	6	12	1
Special Exhibition Expenses	3	0	0
Insurance	2	10	0
Coal	4	6	6
Lithographer's Bill	2	0	6
Peterborough expenses, omitted in last account.	0	4	0
Bankers' Stamps	14	0	0
Printers for circulars, tickets, &c.	124	13	1
Balance in Banker's hands	18	16	4
" Petty Cash	0	15	7
" Secretary's hands	10	4	0
	99	16	8
	£785	11	10

Submitted to the General Annual London Meeting on the 19th June, 1863, and unanimously approved and passed.
EDMUND WATERTON, *Chairman*.

Signed { ROBERT TAYLOR PRITCHETT. } Auditors.
{ FREDERICK OUVRY. }

Audited and found correct, June 17th, 1863.



The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1863.

ROCHESTER CASTLE.¹

By the Rev. CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE, M.A.

It would be an unnecessary claim upon the attention were I to request it to the very early history of Rochester Castle. The events connected with the city during the Anglo-Saxon period, though possessing in themselves a peculiar interest, more particularly when considered with reference to the foundation of the Monastery of St. Andrew, and the various donations to the church belong, however, to a time that has not left us any memorial of an architectural character. They will therefore receive but slight notice. The kings who flourished from the eighth to the eleventh century made various grants to the church. Their charters have been preserved in a noble record that has been printed, and thus these proofs of their devotion have been made generally accessible.

The first of these deeds is a grant from Ecgberht King of Kent, dated in the year 765. It conveys, at the request of Bishop Eardulf, and by the assent of Genberht, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the former prelate the land within the walls of the Castle of Hrofescester, with a small hamlet and two acres adjoining the broad road or street, whose boundary is on the south of the same land.² It would be merely conjectural to attempt fixing upon any particular spot as this, which is here so vaguely described. The same difficulty exists in endeavouring to ascertain where all the

¹ Read at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Rochester, July, 1863.

² *Textus Roffensis*, Edit. Hearn., p. 77;

Dugd. Mon. vol. i. p. 166; *Codex Dipl.* vol. i. p. 137.

lands given to the church by succeeding Anglo-Saxon kings was situated. Enough is it for the present outline of the earlier history of the castle, briefly to enumerate the donations made to the Church of St. Andrew, and to its different bishops.

Thus, in the year 788, a charter of Offa, King of the Mercians, conveys to the church six plough lands at Trotters-cliffe. These are stated to be given to the church of the Blessed Apostle, and to the Episcopality of the Castle which is called Hrofescester. The words *Episcopium Castelli*, although they may reasonably admit of this translation, when they become thus literally rendered are but imperfectly understood. A passage adduced from Bede may help to make them more intelligible, and also show that they were significantly used. This historian, in speaking of the Synod held in the year 670, at Hertford, mentions amongst those ecclesiastics who were present, Putta, Bishop of the Castle of West Kent, called Rochester. Therefore it is manifest that in his time the Bishopric and the Castle of Rochester were held together. The expressions "*Episcopium Castelli quod nominatur Hrofescester*," and the "*Episcopus Castelli Cantuariorum quod dicitur Hrofescæstir*," being intended to convey the idea of the union of spiritual and military authority in the city where the Church of St. Andrew had been founded.³

It is scarcely necessary to enter into a close examination of the word *Episcopium*, when taken in connection with the castle. Since it evidently means both episcopal residence within its walls, and the episcopal custody of the castle itself. Nor indeed would this passing digression have been introduced, had it not been for the purpose of showing how early the Bishops of Rochester used it for their residence.

The position of Rochester on the Medway, and its lying on the great Roman Road from Dover to London, at once constituted it a most important position. Besides this, the site where the present castle is situated imparted to the city the additional advantages of command of the river, and natural strength. It must thus have always been from the days of Cæsar to the next conqueror of England a place of

³ *Episcopium Castelli* may be accepted in the same way as we speak of Rose Castle and Bishop Auckland.

great utility, as will hereafter be seen, in protecting the kingdom from invasion.

A charter of King Offa, granted in the following year, 789, gives one plough land to Bishop Weremund for the use of the church placed in the castle named Hrofescaester. The Church of St. Andrew became subsequently enriched by donations of land in 811, by Coenwulf, King of the Mercians. It was enriched also by three endowments of a similar kind in different years, 842, 850, 855, by Æthelwulf. In the last of them, the Castle of Hrobi is again spoken of as being a boundary of his gift.

There are numerous other instruments relating to the see, but as they make no allusion to the present castle, it would be only a waste of time to notice them. Enough has been said to show that there is sufficient evidence to prove both the ancient existence of a castle at Rochester before the Conquest, and its immediate connection with the see founded by the piety of Æthelbert.

There is now a considerable break in the history of the bishopric. It has continuously been followed for nearly two centuries and a half, but the line of succession of those enjoying it can no longer be traced with the same precision. During the interval elapsing between the death of Æthelwulf in 855, and the next mention of the castle, six Anglo-Saxon princes had enriched the monastery of St. Andrew, whilst they governed Wessex. This embraces a period of rather more than two hundred years, and brings down the general history rather abruptly to the time when Lanfranc sat at Canterbury, and William had nearly secured the conquest of England. The survey of Domesday shows that an exchange of land was made by the Conqueror and the Bishop of Bayeux. Odo received land at Aylesford as an equivalent for the site where William built his castle at Rochester.⁴

In the year 1088 a great dissension arose amongst the English nobility in consequence of part of his Norman followers favoring his own cause, whilst others, who were the more numerous party, were desirous of establishing Robert, Earl of Normandy, on the throne. The earl's chief supporter was Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. This royal prelate was one of the

⁴ *Episcopus etiam de Roucestre pro exambio terre in qua castellum sedet, tantum de hac terra tenet quod 17s. 4d. valet. Domesday, vol. i. p. 2, b.*

sons of Arlotta, the mother of the Conqueror, though by a different father. He espoused the cause of Robert, and exhorted him to lose no time in coming to England. In the meanwhile he took the precaution to fortify Rochester. As soon as the earl was able he sent over a body of soldiers to his uncle, who placed them in charge of the city he had just secured. Eustace, Count of Boulogne and Robert de Belesme, persons of the highest rank, were immediately invested with the command.⁵

Odo had already shut himself up in Rochester with five hundred soldiers, where he anxiously awaited the arrival of the Duke of Normandy. William, however, anticipating the addition of fresh reinforcements, in the month of May invested the place with a considerable army. He erected, says Vitalis, two forts, and contrived to shut up the bishop so closely that all egress was impracticable. Robert did not personally come to the succour of his kinsman, nor indeed did he send him any further assistance. But there were several Normans in the besieging army who gave him all the aid in their power, although it was not done openly through fear of the king. After the garrison had endured great privation, Odo surrendered it. The Norman chronicler enters into a full description of the interview the besieged held with the Conqueror after their submission. But it is unnecessary to repeat an ideal conversation given with such minuteness.⁶

Thus in the first year of William's reign the City of Rochester fell into his hands, and it continued in the possession of the Crown until the reign of Henry II., who in 1126 made a grant of it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. This donation is the origin of many important events connected with the history of the castle, as will hereafter be shown in the course of succeeding years.

During the reign of Rufus, Lanfranc presided over the see of Canterbury. A long intimacy had existed betwixt the Primate and Gundulf, a monk of Bec. This naturally led to the promotion of the latter on a favourable opportunity. Accordingly when the see of Rochester became vacant through the death of Arnost in 1076, Lanfranc recommended his friend to fill the vacant see. It would be neither suitable nor illustrative of the present subject to follow the actions that

have been so highly eulogised by Gundulf's biographer. At Rochester he is chiefly known by the works he executed at his cathedral. He found it in a state of decay. He is said to have rebuilt it. Little, however, of his work exists at the present day. Although the evidence of his labours is scarcely perceptible, it can hardly be doubted that his reputation as an architect was well deserved. He studied the comforts of his monks, having been one himself, and he increased their numbers. When he entered on his Bishopric there were not more than five, but at his decease he left more than sixty, who were capable of reading and perfectly singing in the service of God. We are further told that he was exceedingly knowing and efficient in masonry, so that he constructed a castle of stone at Rochester at his own cost. He built a hospital for lepers at Chatham; and in 1090 founded and erected the Abbey of Malling. The keep adjoining it was also his work. The *Textus Roffensis* gives him the credit of superintending the erection of the White Tower in London.⁷ The same authority aided by local tradition has assigned to him the equal honor of building the castle at Rochester. So generally indeed has he been reputed to be the architect of this magnificent structure, that it still retains the name of Gundulf's tower. There is not any notice of it in the *Textus Roffensis*.

It is at all times a perplexing undertaking to reopen for investigation a subject which the concurrent voice of former generations has apparently settled. And it is also an unenviable duty to enter afresh upon the examination of a question that has been prejudged. But these difficulties are legitimate points for calm consideration, and reasoning can never be more profitably employed than when its powers are directed to ascertain on what grounds any historical statement depends, and how much of it is supported by actual truth.

Now, upon reading the account that has been written of the acts of Gundulf, it is very apparent that the great aim of his biographer was to hold him up to the world as the leading spirit of his age, and as a prelate who was unusually endowed

⁷ Hæc est conventio inter Gundulfum episcopum et Eadmerum Abbatem Burgesem Londoniæ. Dum idem Gundulfus, ex præcepto regis Willelmi magni, præcasset operi magnæ turris Londiniæ, et hospitatus fuisset apud ipsum Eadme-

rum, quadam vice ipse cepit episcopum rogare, ut concedat sibi societatem ecclesiæ quam regebat, videlicet Sancti Andree. Quod ei episcopus satis libenter concessit. *Textus Roffensis*, p. 212. Written in 1143.

with practical wisdom, as well as saintly piety. He was the cherished correspondent of Anselm, and the beloved friend of Lanfranc. He had rebuilt his own cathedral from ruins, and he is also said to have constructed at the same place a castle of stone. Nor is it improbable that he built a structure of this kind. But, upon perusing the account of the transactions that led to this latter work, it is perfectly clear that the building could not have been the one still bearing his name. The mere fact of his agreeing to build a castle for the sum of sixty pounds in consideration of Rufus restoring to his church the Manor of Hedenham, in Buckinghamshire, is in itself sufficient proof that the present keep, called Gundulf's Tower cannot be the identical work alluded to. It may by way of illustration simply be said in disproof, that the building could not possibly have been erected for so small a sum. Measure its size with Dover and Chilham,⁸ and calculate the various sums expended on their erection,⁹ and it will be seen how little sixty pounds produced in works upon those castles, whilst the tower at Rochester is larger than one and nearly as large as the other. There is, however, other testimony adducible which more directly destroys Bishop Gundulf's claim to the honor of building this magnificent fortress. I allude not now to the conclusions that must necessarily be drawn from its architectural character, since they will receive due attention when that part of the subject is considered; but rather that whilst the arguments deducible from the foregoing statements tend to invalidate, if indeed they do not quite contradict the legendary associations connected with Gundulf's fame as a military architect, there is also another notice on record relating to the castle of Rochester, in which the name of its real builder is disclosed.

The most valuable work relating to the early history of the see of Canterbury is the chronicle written by Gervase. He

⁸ Dover	123 x 108 ft. sq.	95 ft. high.	on Dover:—				
Rochester	103 x 85					£	s. d.
Castle Rising	60 x 90		26 Henry II. on walls .		165	13	4
Newcastle	62 x 56		29 " works .		129	16	11
⁹ Chilham was built 17, 18, 19, and 21			30 " towers .		131	8	10
Henry II., from 1171 to 1175, and cost			31 " towers .		299	2	1
33 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i>			32 " towers .		207	9	0
Dover was built 14 to 33 Henry II.,			33 " . . .		151	15	4
but chiefly 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 Henry II.;							
in these six years there was expended					£1085	5	6

was a sacristan in the church and both personally witnessed its conflagration, and subsequently watched the progress of its rebuilding. In addition to the important description he has left of these events, he has written the history of the archbishops. The lives of those who governed the see immediately about his own time are naturally worthy of all confidence, since he would be well acquainted with the transactions in which they were engaged. This writer was also present at the dedication of Archbishop William's new church in 1130, and thus lived as his contemporary. He speaks of him in his biographical sketch as having crowned Stephen, and in other terms as standing high in the king's favor. In proof of this he tells us that at the archbishop's instigation he gave and confirmed to the Church of Canterbury and to William, the archbishop, the castle that was in the city of Rochester, where the same archbishop built an extremely beautiful tower. This valuable passage is conclusive, and removes all doubt of its author from dispute.¹

The time when William de Corbeuil occupied the Primacy extended from 1123 to 1139. Therefore from this evidence the keep must have been erected during this interval of sixteen years. The continuation of Florence of Worcester enables us to fix the date of this magnificent structure a little more closely, by three years. This narrative is confirmatory of that of Gervase. He says, under the year 1126, that the king by the advice of his barons, granted to the Church of Canterbury, to William de Corbeuil, the archbishop, and his successors, the perpetual custody and constableness of the Castle of "Hrofi," with permission to make within it a defence or tower such as he liked, and to hold and guard it for ever; and that the soldiers stationed in the castle should have free entrance and egress according as their turns required. Also that they should render security to the king for the same castle. This fixes the erection between 1126 and 1139.

This is the first time there is any mention made of it as a direct tenure under the Crown. It may be observed, too, from the wording of this royal grant, that no regular fortress or tower had been erected up to that time. Archbishop William

¹ "Hujus instinctu, rex Henricus dedit et confirmavit ecclesie Cantuarie et Willielmo archiepiscopo Castellum quod est in civitate Roffensi, ubi idem archie-

piscopus turrem egregiam edificavit." Gervasii Actus Pontificum, apud Decem Scriptores, p. 1664.

obtained a privilege that had not been granted to Gundulf. This prelate, according to the same chronicler, had already been dead eighteen years, which again disposes of the claims that have been advanced on behalf of this bishop being its builder. The regard of posterity will rather be due to him as an ecclesiastical than as a military architect.

The custody of the castle thus in 1126 transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury at once terminates all its connection with the see of Rochester. This is affirmatively proved by the official transaction just spoken of. It may still further be demonstrated by the entire omission of all mention of it in the subsequent documents which relate to the history both of the bishopric and the city. In illustration of this it may be observed that the castle is not named in the charter granted by Henry I., nor in that of Stephen; nor in the first granted by Henry II., which gives protection to the monks after the conflagration of their church. The charter confirmatory of their privileges ceded by the same monarch, expressly frees them from all labor upon the castle, an exemption which could only emanate from the Crown in favor of those who were feudally bound to perform services in its own defence. Upon the same point the charter of Richard is equally silent. Again, had the castle appertained to the see in the reign of John, it would not have been exempted from that careful valuation of the episcopal manors which was then taken. Nor again under a taxation in the 20th of Edward I. would it have been excepted.²

The error of making Gundulf the builder of the present castle was an easy one for superficial inquirers to commit. It may thus be explained. Gundulf's fame as an architect had been established by his actual works upon the church or Cathedral of St. Andrew. He had been spoken of by his biographer as the constructor of a castle of stone at Rochester, and consequently the erection of the one existing was thought to be the work of his well known ability. The munificent outlay he made on the cathedral added weight to the current story, whilst the fact that he had ever built any castle at Rochester, made the tradition popular that the one now existing was the identical structure. The notice taken of his skill in masonry by the anonymous author of his life was

² These acts are gathered from the Charters and other documents printed in the *Textus Roffensis*.

accessible in the extracts printed in the *Registrum Roffense*. The acts of the Metropolitans written by Gervase and the chronicle of Florence of Worcester were less easy to be consulted by the general reader, and thus William de Corbeuil became deprived of that renown which the erection of so magnificent a tower entitles him to receive.

I have hitherto pursued these researches into the history of Rochester Castle by the assistance of such charters and annals as have been preserved. They are sufficient to establish Archbishop William's claims, without any examination of the architectural character of the keep itself. Yet this will necessarily follow when the present purely historical part of the subject has been completed.

Before the features of the keep itself are brought in review, there are records of a different kind to those just used which require to be noticed. This is essential to the present inquiry, because whilst they open an entirely fresh branch of it for elucidation, they also furnish us with a few new facts. The earliest entries I shall notice have never been considered, and one particular document, the latest of any value, though printed, has not been specifically applied to the structure it so well illustrates.

In order to obtain every information that could be brought to bear on the history of this truly imposing monument, I have made a careful search through such records kept under the custody of the Master of the Rolls as would be likely to cast upon it any light. It need scarcely be stated that after Domesday Book, the most important materials for the early history of the kingdom are to be found in that venerable record called the Great Roll of the Exchequer. It has been examined from the 31st year of Henry I., to the close of the reign of Richard I. Not continuously, because the Rolls are lost from the year 1130 until 1155, but from this time until 1199, which embraces a period of forty-four years. The result of this search is more readily given than the attention it required. It may be a tedious, yet it is always a most instructive pursuit, every few words as they become extended expressing new information. On a recent occasion the search became the means of completely establishing the date when the castles of Canterbury and Chilham were erected, together with their cost. With respect to these buildings as well as Dover there is every information

that can be desired. Had Rochester Castle always remained in the hands of the Crown, the expense of its erection and repairs would have been returned on the Pipe Roll with the most scrupulous exactness. It has, however, been shown, that in 1126 Henry I. granted it to William de Corbeuil, and, therefore, the expenditure upon the building was not entered on the Roll of the Sheriff of Kent, but was returned by the treasurer of the see to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Yet, fortuitously, as it were, it happens, that in the thirteenth year (1167), the sheriff returns as small an outlay upon the castle as four marcs. Having seen it bestowed on the Archbishopric, we naturally ask why this charge should occur. And the question is more pressingly repeated when it is discovered that a further sum of fifteen pounds was spent in works upon it in the twentieth year of the same reign (1174). The difficulty may thus readily be solved. A large fluctuating revenue accrued to the Crown upon the vacancy of any Bishopric or Religious House that was of royal foundation. When a prelate or an abbot died, the king usually took the temporalities into his own hands, and he received the profits until the vacancy was filled up. When once these possessions had been seised into the king's hands, the ecclesiastic who succeeded could not enter upon his dignity till he had obtained a writ of restitution. The law continues in force to the present day, though its abuse is done away. These receipts of the Crown were purely casual, but they added considerably to the Royal revenue. The history of every see can furnish numerous instances of its temporalities being thus diverted to secular purposes; from the reign of Rufus, who seized Gundulf's manor of Hedenham in Buckinghamshire, till that of Elizabeth, who kept the Bishopric of Ely vacant for nineteen years that she might receive its income.³

It has just been noticed that in 1167 an outlay was made on the Castle. It was then seised in the King's hands. The temporalities of Becket having been under avoidance from the year 1164, and so the profits of the see remained under the appointed custodes until 1174, when Richard, his

³ The form is given in Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium*; Cripps, pp. 79, 80, &c.; Carte, vol. i. p. 594.

successor, was consecrated Archbishop. During these ten years, therefore, the Castle of Rochester being in the hands of the Crown, the expenses of its repairs were entered by the Sheriff of the County, who was the official custos of the see, upon the Great Roll of the Pipe.⁴ There is no other entry of value upon it pertinent to our present inquiry, during the remainder of the reign.

In the third year of Richard I. (1192) we meet with the following notice: "In garrisoning the Castle of Rochester to Hugh de Bosco," a sum not legible, "and to the same for a hundred seams of corn, and a hundred of rye, and fifty of oats, and for a hundred pigs and forty cows for victualling the aforesaid castle, 47*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*" In the following year there occurs an entry of the same constable for works upon it, and for its defence, 20*l.* And again in the next year, he is paid 14*l.* for the custody of Rochester Castle. How are these entries to be explained after the castle had been granted to William Corbeul and his successors? on the grounds already adverted to. The see of Canterbury was now again vacant. Close upon this time, Fitzwalter died, and Langton his successor was not appointed till the eighth or ninth year of King John's reign (1207). The Bishopric of Rochester was also vacant by the death of Gilbert de Glanville in 31 Henry II. (1185), and lay in the hands of the Crown till 16 John (1215); therefore, the Sheriff of Kent being the official custos, the repairs and issues of the castle were under his care.

The last entry of Richard's reign relating to it, is an outlay in 1197 of a hundred and eighteen shillings for works upon the drawbridge. The Chancellor's Roll of the third of John also notices slight works upon the castle.

One of the inferences suggested by these facts is that from the year 1192 to 1202 the Castle of Rochester was again in the hands of the Crown, and it so continued until it was once more ceded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was Stephen Langton.

⁴ Archbishops of Canterbury.

Lanfranc	1070—1089
Anselm	1093—1109
Ralph d'Escures	1114—1123
William de Corbeul . . .	1123—1136
Theobald	1139—1162
Becket	1162—1170

Bishops of Rochester.

Gundulf	1077—1108
Ralph d'Escures	1108—1114
Ernulf	1115—1125
Gilbert Glanville	1185—1215

At the close of John's reign it again took a prominent place in history, since at this time the well-known confederacy of the English Barons was formed, which more than any other event in the British annals, has contributed to our national greatness.

The importance of securing Rochester Castle was so apparent that the Barons had sworn that whenever it should be besieged they would use their utmost endeavours to relieve it. William de Albin had been invested with the command, and, in fulfilment of their promises, when hostilities commenced, they marched as far as Dartford from London to its succour. The King had, however, previously seized upon the principal avenues leading to it, and broken down all the bridges, so that the garrison had only their own resolution and courage to depend upon. They had little more than walls to protect them; not even weapons sufficient for their defence. After a protracted siege of three months it fell into the King's hands.

If the besieged had suffered much from want of provisions, John had also found the attack troublesome and expensive. He was so exasperated at the endurance of the garrison, that when he gained its possession he threatened to hang every one within its walls. But the suggestion that was made to him that this would bring retribution upon his own knights if they were taken, caused him to desist from carrying his intentions into effect. He consequently sent William de Albin and some of his principal supporters as prisoners to Corfe. But so numerous were the State prisoners at this time, that the Close Rolls have various entries showing the necessity that existed for providing accommodation for them. Thus, while De Albin was sent to Corfe, because its remoteness made it a place of greater security, prisoners of less importance already confined there, were transferred to other strongholds. The same policy was shown by Edward I., who incarcerated some of the Welsh leaders in the Castles of Scarborough and Bamborough.

Concerning all the events of the baronial confederacy, the Close Rolls give the fullest information—information so interesting and so varied that their perusal makes us as it were eye witnesses of everything that happened. The capture of the castle, thus so briefly related, involved more important consequences than are at first sight apparent. It

was more than a common siege, and the results of William de Albin's noble resistance are impressed on our institutions. By this siege, the King, it is true, gained the credit of a victory, but it was only a brief and illusory triumph. His energies had become weakened by the endurance of the garrison. His hold of the people's attachment was severed. The nobility had universally cast off their allegiance. The fall of Rochester, in fact, warned the barons of the strong necessity that existed for entering into a closer compact with each other for their defence. It proved to them the need of vigorous and united exertions. Therefore to this event may be assigned the arrays marshalled at Brackley and Stamford. Hostile gatherings, which, in their turn, immediately led to the more important one that established the capitulation of Runnymede.

In this manner did the noble resistance of De Albin further the growing power of the aristocracy over the Crown. Thus, too, did it cause the extension of public rights. It effected even more than this, since it was the immediate origin of that Great Charter to which, under Providence, England is indebted for its Constitutional progress, and for the spirit of rational liberty which breathes through its institutions.

With no ordinary interest, then, shall we look upon a building thus inseparably linked with the memory of these momentous events. It rises before our eyes as a grand though dishonored pile, still displaying the skilfulness of architectural genius, and commended to our protection by the voice of hoar antiquity, but even deserving still more regard as a venerable landmark of history. Yet these natural feelings of admiration of a structure in itself so vast and impressive, will but feebly contrast with the emotions it raises in the mind, when it is further considered as the advanced bulwark of constitutional liberty, and as a monument bringing vividly to remembrance the most important struggle in which Englishmen have ever been engaged.

The nation itself did not perceive the benefits which in after ages were destined to flow from the Charter. Like a spring silently issuing from a secret cavern of the earth, ignorant of its future course as well as of the various tributaries that will increase its strength ere its waters are mingled with the sea, so were the consequences of the

united movement of the barons unobserved at the moment by its authors. Nor, with all our constitutional advancement, and exalted as we are by its provisions, can it be said that the whole of the benefits springing from Magna Charta have as yet been received, since English freedom, like the oak of our native soil, takes centuries to bring it to maturity.

But I am wandering too far from the subject immediately under notice. Yet I have felt that it was a fit opportunity to allude to the effects produced by this long siege of Rochester Castle. I have also conceived that if Bishop Gundulf may have received honour for the execution of works built by others, it was but an act of justice to mention the patriotic exertions of De Albini. His name ought to be held equally dear by the citizens of Rochester, since by his gallant defence of the castle he helped to secure their common liberties. He stood in the front of danger and risked everything for their rights. Nor, whilst thus so faintly descanting upon his valor, his endurance, and disregard of life, should our reverential gratitude be forgotten towards that enlightened prelate, Stephen Langton, who resolutely aided the popular cause, and placed him in command of the citadel.⁵

Although the barons had compelled John to recognise their liberties, they were still in a very insecure state. Except London, they had only one place of defence remaining. In the danger that lay before them, they saw that their ruin was inevitable if they depended merely on their own forces. In such a dilemma they invited the assistance of Louis⁶ of France, and even offered him the crown of England. On the 21st of May, 1216, the young prince landed at Dover. He made an ineffectual attempt to gain the castle, but with this exception speedily became master of the county of Kent. Rochester fell to him on the 30th of May. John died in about five months afterwards. The footing Louis had gained in England was but of short duration, so that in the following year he made peace on honorable terms and quitted England.

Rochester Castle, which had fallen voluntarily into his power, now again became transferred to the Crown. It belonged to it uninterruptedly through several succeeding

⁵ 1214. Letters of John to Archbishop of Canterbury, saying that the castle would be committed to his custody.

Rot. Lit. Pat. p. 138.

⁶ Son of Philip Augustus of France. He ascended the throne 1223.

reigns. It comes before us once more in history, but its great importance was past.

In 1226 and 1227 the Clause Rolls exhibit rather large sums expended by the Royal precept upon the construction of mangonels and petrariæ, as well as for a bretache and drawbridge on the south side of the castle. Another writ from the Crown orders the part that was ruinous in the keep to be repaired as well as the gutters of the hall.

After an interval of nearly half a century, the Castle of Rochester again becomes prominent in English history. The discontent of the barons had deprived Henry III. of many of his castles. These, by the consent of the insurgents, had been placed under the command of Simon de Montfort. He had successively defended on their behalf Kenilworth and Northampton; both of them had, however, been taken by the Royal forces. He was still in the year 1264 master of the counties round London, as well as of all their fortresses, with the exception of Rochester. This was in the keeping of Earl Warren for the Crown. The Earl of Arundel, Roger de Leyburne, and others of the nobility had fled thither with their forces to defend it against the insurgent party.⁷

Simon de Montfort marched out of London to attack it. But on his arrival he found the bridge over the Medway broken down, and a palisade made beyond it on the side next the city. In its defence Roger de Leyburne was wounded. Notwithstanding the skill evinced by the earl in his method of attack, he was shortly obliged to raise the siege, so that he might concentrate all his forces for a more urgent occasion, and, as the fortune of war decreed, for a victory over Henry at Lewes.

A document has been preserved which affords considerable information about the particular time when the siege of Rochester commenced. It also throws a good deal of light upon the social habits of the time, giving a history of the domestic economy of Roger de Leyburne, one of the leading knights then in the castle. This document, which is amongst the Public Records, is entitled "*Compotus Rogeri de Leyburne*," and relates to the forty-eighth year of Henry III. I shall not enter into such a detailed examination of these accounts as they deserve, because the Record is not only too

⁷ Chron. Walt. de Hemingburgh, vol. i. p. 313.

long for the present occasion, but also because the contents will more appropriately receive express attention hereafter.

Some of its entries, however, are immediately applicable to our present subject, and I will proceed to notice them. It appears that Earl Warren and William de Braose came to the Castle of Rochester on the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, and that the attack upon it commenced on the following day. On the Saturday after Easter, the barons departed from the Castle, and on the Tuesday following Earl Warren left it. This roll further states that on the return of the king from the battle of Lewes, he came to Rochester, when he ordered the Constable of the Tower of the same place, and others being in the same, by Roger de Leyburne, to give up the Tower to the Earl of Leicester; which, according to the aforesaid precept, they obeyed. This cession of the Castle was in conformity with the Mise of Lewes, which decreed that the barons should have the custody of the Royal fortresses. After the king's power had been restored by the battle of Evesham and the sieges of Kenilworth and Northampton, constables were again appointed to hold it for the Crown; and under their government it continued, without further changes, for a period of three centuries, when, in 1610, James I. granted it to Sir Anthony Weldon.

Sufficient reasons have been already assigned for attributing the erection of the Keep to William de Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury. It now becomes necessary to draw attention to the building in its present condition, to speak of the changes it has undergone, and of the expenses incurred in its reparation. And here, in the very outset, it may be stated, that history and architecture are so naturally allied, that whilst they lend mutual assistance in investigations like the present, they can neither ever be severed, nor will they be found contradicting each other. Whilst its buildings are the visible history of a country, history itself takes a fresh existence from the light they cast upon it. Indeed, these two studies are so firmly united, that they may be considered identical. They present such equal marks of value that it is difficult to pronounce which is entitled to the pre-eminence; or, again, which ought to win the highest confidence. Whilst history speaks to us with the quiet voice of time, the architecture of a building is the

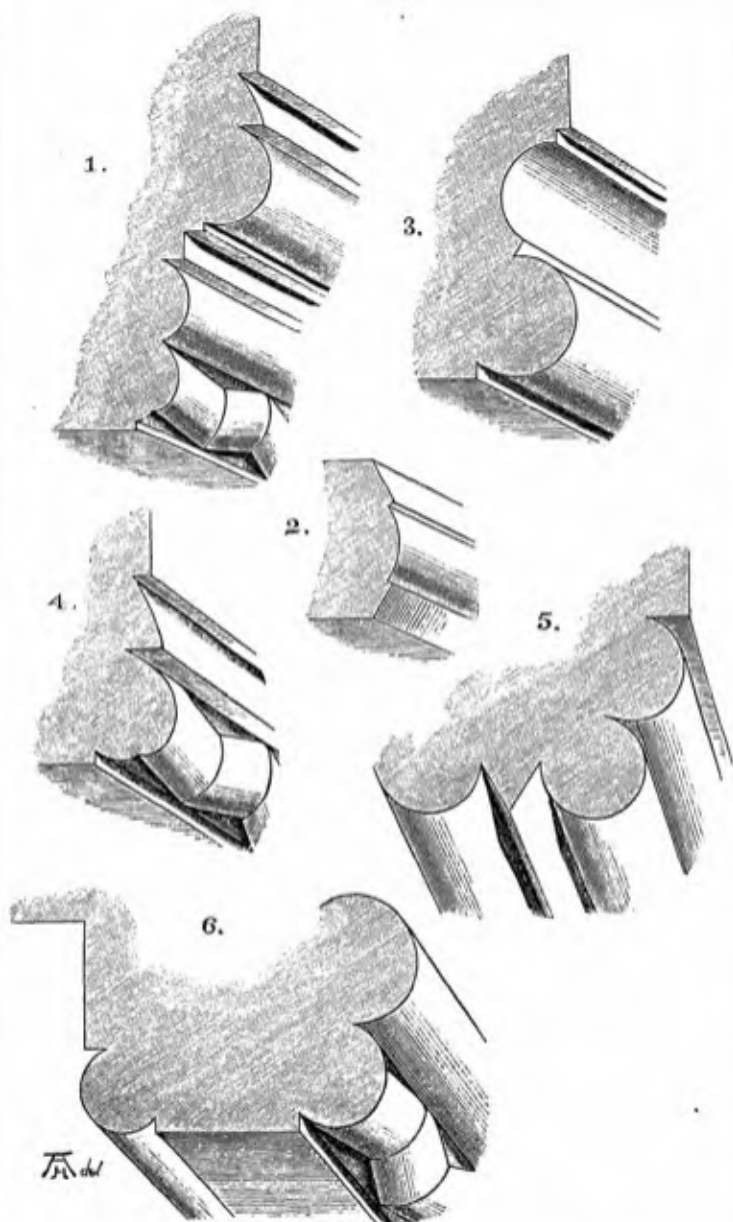


Fig. 1. Arch moulding, First floor. Fig. 2. String course, Second floor. Fig. 3. Window moulding, Second floor. Fig. 4. Window moulding, Third floor. Fig. 5. Chimney arch, Second floor. Fig. 6. Chimney arch, Fourth floor.

evidence of its truth. The facts revealed by the one are confirmed by the other, and when an account is slight, imperfect, or obscure; when even we have the disadvantage of not possessing any information whatever; when the charters and the chronicles are put aside, the records rolled up, and all the volumes that have been consulted replaced on their shelves as conveying no information, the architecture of a building adduces absolute evidence. Its mode of construction, its peculiar masonry, or its characteristic mouldings, faithfully supply the place of written testimony. So clearly, indeed, are these various tests discernible, that they are capable of supplying the place of other authority, whilst they also constitute an independent and additional historic proof. This will be at once illustrated in the structure under notice.

We have had before us, for example, two dates, between which the erection of the castle was undoubtedly executed. It embraces a period of thirteen years. In 1126 Henry II. granted Rochester to the Archbishop of Canterbury; in 1139 the same prelate died. It is probably impossible to determine the year of its erection more closely. For since the very year is not recorded, the style of the building does not supply the means of arriving at it with more exactness. The mouldings round the doors and windows of the Castle at once remove all speculation about its age being earlier than these years. It is true that architectural works in Kent would be naturally a little in advance of all other counties. Norman architects would be employed, and they would introduce the latest forms. But this will not sufficiently explain features in themselves irreconcilable with contemporary analogies. Attempting to make Bishop Gundulf the builder of the present Castle on such presumptive comparisons as this, will at once involve the question in such contradictions that no amount of ingenuity can reconcile them.

The Castle once erected, it seems to have required, comparatively speaking, but little outlay upon it for many years. It sustained injury during the time it was held against John, which explains the necessity of issuing precepts to the Sheriff of Kent in the years 1222, 1223, 1226, and 1227. A portion of the money thus expended in these years was not unlikely to be laid out upon the south-east angle of the

Keep, the greater portion of which appears to have been re-built. As this part is much hidden by ivy, it is, however, difficult to see at what particular time its reconstruction was effected. It may even have been done as late as 1369, when, as will be shortly stated more fully, a considerable expenditure was incurred.

This military structure presents nothing dissimilar to other Norman Castles. It comprised the Keep, seventy feet square, erected as usual on the highest ground. This was encircled with a lofty wall, and with a deep fosse on the greater part of its outside. Notice has already been made of the expense of a bretache, or wooden tower in advance, as well as of a drawbridge. There were also other buildings erected within the court, such as a great hall, a chapel, and offices of various descriptions. An inquisition taken in the 3rd of Edward I. supplies additional information as to its original state. The jury declare that when Hugo de Blythe and Simon Potyn caused work to be done upon the Tower of the Castle of Rochester, they paid a hundred shillings, and that they spent more when Reginald de Cobham was Sheriff of Kent and Constable of the Castle. The value of this entry seems to be that it shows that the reparation or re-building of the south-east angle of the Keep, may have been done under their directions, and just previous to the year 1275.⁸ The inquisition also gives the following facts. That the Earl de Warren and Roger de Leyburne were in the Castle during the war, and burnt the King's Hall there. John Potyn also unroofed the chamber of the hall, and took off 3000 tiles, and the said John robbed it of lead. He also had the materials of a certain oriol. Other dilapidations were discovered, but as they do not give any information about the buildings, they do not require attention.

It is not until the 29th of Edward III. that any notice is again met with relating to the building. In this year (1356) a writ of inquiry was issued to ascertain its defects. It is, however, more than doubtful whether they were attended to at that time. Twelve years later the Castle had become so much out of repair that a large outlay was necessary. The

⁸ Mandatum est Vicecomiti Kancie quod de exitibus ballivæ sue faciat habere Galfrido Norman et socio suo Capellani regis ministrantibus in Capella

Castri Regis Roffensis quorum uterque capit per annum quinquaginta solidos pro stipendiis suis. Rot. Claus. i. Edw. i. m. 6.

Roll of Accounts relating to operations then carried on has been preserved. As this document has been printed in the *Archæologia Cantiana* (vol. ii., p. 11—131), it will be unnecessary to recapitulate the items. It informs us that the works carried out in the 41st and 42nd years of Edward III., 1367-68, were under the direction of the Prior of Rochester (John de Hertlip). The building was evidently greatly in want of repair, as he charges himself in his statement with 1203*l*. 15*s*. 4*d*., which he received on account.

This document is interesting from the description it gives of implements and materials that were employed, and supplies many architectural terms in use at the period.

A later document has been preserved showing that operations were carried on in the 6th year of Richard II., under the supervision of Wm. Basynges, Master of the Hospital at Strood.⁹

In the account of works in the 41st and 42nd years of Edward III., frequent mention is made of the new tower.¹ This cannot mean the Keep, and must therefore refer to some tower that has since perished. I am inclined to consider that the document chiefly relates to the south side of the enclosure of the Castle, where the whole of the existing buildings are of this period.

⁹ Accounts 1 and 2 Ric. III. 363, 10.

¹ Pro coopertura Novæ Turris Castri predicti, 65*l*.

ON EPISCOPAL RINGS.

By EDMUND WATERTON, K.Ch., F.S.A., F.S.A.S., M.R.I.A.

THE ring is one of the most ancient of the episcopal insignia. The history of Episcopal Rings presents many interesting details. I propose to treat of the subject under the following heads:—

- I. The ancient use of the ring ;
- II. Its fashion ;
- III. The blessing of the ring ;
- IV. How the ring was conferred ;
- V. How it was worn ;
- VI. The mystical signification attached to it by various ecclesiastical writers.

I. The use of the ring for a bishop is of very ancient date. The Pope, when promoted to the see of St. Peter, being already invested with the episcopal insignia, does not receive a ring ; but if, as it sometimes happens, the Pope-elect is not a bishop, he is consecrated prior to his coronation as Supreme Pontiff, and receives the ring with the usual formula, except that the consecrating cardinal kisses his hand after investing him with the ring.

Aringhi states that the ring of St. Caius (283–296) was found in his tomb:—"Intra sepulchrum tria Diocletiani Imperatoris numismata, sub quo coronatus fuerat, et Sanctissimi Pontificis annulus adinventatus est."¹

In 511 the Council of Orleans makes mention of the rescript of Clodovicus, wherein he promises to leave certain captives at the disposition of the Gallican bishops, "*si vestras epistolas de anulo vestro signatas sic ad nos dirigatis.*"² The Sacramental of St. Gregory the Great, A.D. 590, prescribes for a bishop the use of the ring and pastoral staff.³ The fourth Council of Toledo, held in 633,

¹ Roma Subterr. iv. c. 48, p. 426.

² Sacr. Greg.

³ 1 Conc. Aurel. ad. ann. 511.

appoints that a bishop condemned by one Council, and afterwards found innocent by another, shall be restored to his dignity by receiving back his ring.⁴

In the tomb of St. Birinus, Bishop of Dorchester, who died in 640, a gold ring was found.⁵ A ring was also found in the coffin of St. John of Beverley, who died in 721, when his body was translated about 1037.

II. The fashion of the episcopal ring.

Prior to the eleventh century very many if not all of the episcopal rings were signets; for, before that time, large official seals were not in general use. Each bishop seems to have chosen the subject to be engraved on his ring, at pleasure. St. Augustine, in one of his letters, mentions that he sealed it with his ring, "qui exprimit faciem hominis attendentis in latus;"⁶ and the precept of Clodovicus to the bishops, to which I have referred, requires their replies to be sealed with their rings. One of those to whom this precept was addressed was Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne.⁷ Writing to Apollinaris, Bishop of Valence, he begs him to send the seal or signet (*signatorium*) which he had promised, made in such a way, "ut anulo ferreo et admodum tenui, velut concurrentibus in se delphinulis concludendo, sigilli duplicis forma geminis cardinulis inseratur."⁸ And, referring to the subject which was to be engraved on the bezel, he adds:—"Si quæras quid insculpendum sigillo, signum monogrammaticis mei per gyrum scripti nominis legatur indicio." These monograms were called *siglæ*, which Nicolai, in his treatise *de Siglis veterum*, defines as "compendia literarum, cum una vel duæ literæ pro integra voce pluribus literis constante ponerentur."⁹

In the early days of Christianity, bishops sealed with their rings the profession of faith which the neophytes made in writing: they also sealed their pastoral letters.

Ebregislaus, Bishop of Meaux in 660, wore in his ring an intaglio representing St. Paul, the first hermit, on his knees before the crucifix, and above his head the crow by which he was miraculously fed.¹

In conformity to a decree of St. Sergius I. (687-701)

⁴ Syn. Tolet. iv. c. 27.

⁵ Surius, in his Life.

⁶ Ep. 217, n. 59, ad Victorinum.

⁷ Mabillon de Re Diplom. 132.

⁸ Ep. 78, quoted by Mabillon ut supra.

⁹ Nicolai de Siglis, c. 1, p. 3.

¹ Annales Benedict. tom. I., p. 456.

the bishops of France and Spain used to seal up the baptismal fonts with their rings, from the beginning of Lent to Holy Saturday.²

From ancient documents it would appear that sometimes bishops called their rings the "*annuli Ecclesiæ*." David, Bishop of Benevento in the time of Charlemagne, issued a mandate ending as follows:—"Annulo sanctæ nostræ Ecclesiæ firmavimus roborandum."³ In 862, Rathbodus, Bishop of Treves, writes thus:—"Hanc epistolam Græcis litteris, hinc, inde, munire decrevimus, et annulo Ecclesiæ nostræ bullare censuimus."⁴

In 985, Pope John XVI. sealed with his ring the confirmation of the decree made by the Council of Mayence in favor of the monks of Corvey, in Saxony.⁵

These quotations are sufficient to prove that, until the eleventh century, the bishops used their rings as signets; but we must not infer that every episcopal ring was a signet. It is probable that each bishop had a large jeweled ring to use when pontificating. Only one Anglo-Saxon episcopal ring is believed to exist in England, and it presents quite a different type. This is the celebrated gold nielloed ring bearing the name of Alhstan, and supposed to have belonged to the prelate of that name, Bishop of Sherborne 824 to 867.



Fig. 1. Gold Ring, inscribed with the name ALHSTAN.
In the Collection of Edmund Waterton, Esq., F.S.A.

It is now in my *dactyliotheca*, and it is here figured (see woodcut, fig. 1).

In the will of Riculphus, Bishop of Perpignan, 915, mention is made of a ring with precious stones.⁶ In 1194 the

² Given in the xvii. Council of Toledo.
Tit. de Reg. S. Fidei, c. ii.
³ Ughellius, Ital. Sac. viii. col. 46;
quoted by Mabillon, p. 134.

⁴ Sirmund, Concil. Gall. iii. p. 358.
⁵ Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, iv.
p. 312.
⁶ Pugin, Glossary, p. 203.

fashion of the episcopal ring was definitively settled by Innocent III., who ordained that it should be of gold, solid, and set with a precious stone on which nothing was to be cut:—"Annulus ex auro puro solide conflatus palam habeat cum gemma in qua nihil sculpti esse debet."⁷ In the thirteenth century many of the episcopal rings were of very rude fashion, frequently in almost literal conformity with the prescript of Innocent III., without regard to shape or elegance. The stone was set just as it was found, merely having the surface polished, and the shape of the bezel was adapted to the gem. Of a remarkable ring of this description, found in Winchester Cathedral, we are enabled, by the kindness of Mr. R. H. Smith, Curator of the Kensington Museum, to give the accompanying representation (woodcut, fig 2.) In my collection there are three good examples of the period. Sometimes the goldsmiths seem to have availed themselves of an antique gem, which may have been originally used either in a necklace or bracelet. There is a remarkable example in my series; it is a gold ring, with a pierced sapphire set *à griffes*. Robert, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in the reign of Edward I., had a ring set with a pierced ruby, as we learn from the following entry in one of the Wardrobe Books of that monarch:—"Anulus auri cum rubetto perforato, qui fuit Roberti Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis Episcopi."⁸

There is also in my collection a curious episcopal ring of the latter part of the twelfth century, which is here figured (see woodcuts, fig. 3). It was found in 1856, about six miles from Oxford. In general design it resembles that above mentioned; it is, however, of purer gold, and the bezel set with a fine antique *plasma* bust of a female. We have proof that cameos were worn in episcopal rings. In the list of rings and precious stones collected by Henry III. for the shrine of St. Edward in Westminster Abbey, there is enumerated:—"j *chamah* in uno annulo pontificali."⁹ I consider the gem in the ring found near Oxford to have been intended to represent either our Blessed Lady or some female saint. We know that during the middle ages the glyptic art had declined very much, and that from their fancied assimi-

⁷ Merati, ed. Gavanti, p. 1341.

⁸ Liber Garderobæ 28 Ed. I. fol. 278, p. 344. The name of this prelate, who

died in 1295, is usually given as Roger. Le Neve, ed. Hardy, vol. i. p. 549.

⁹ Rot. Pat. 51 Hen. III. m. 20 d.

lation antique gems were occasionally used for devout subjects.¹ Thus the monks of Durham converted an antique intaglio of Jupiter Tonans into the "Caput Sancti Oswaldi."²

The Wardrobe Book of 28th Edward I. contains several entries relating to episcopal rings, which will be found appended to this memoir. St. Dunstan, who was celebrated as a worker in metals, seems to have made rings; possibly the following entry in the Liber Garderobæ may refer to that which had been worn by himself:—"Unus annulus auri cum saphiro, qui fuit de fabricâ Sancti Dunstani, ut credebatur."³

During the latter part of the thirteenth century the large episcopal rings were enriched by the addition of precious stones which were set around the principal one. Thus, in the Wardrobe Book there is the following entry:—"Anulus auri cum quatuor rubettis magnis qui fuit Fratris J. de Peccham nuper Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi."⁴ He died in 1292.

Dart, in his History of Canterbury, gives an Inventory of the *Ornamenta Ecclesiastica*, taken in 1315.⁵ One of the *annuli pontificales* was of elaborate character, and is thus described:—"Annulus quadratus magnus cum smaragdine oblongo, et quatuor pramis, et quatuor garnettis." The others had sapphires surrounded by smaller gems. One of these rings was set—"cum saphiro nigro in quatuor cramponibus ex omni parte discoperto."

The precious stones preferred for episcopal rings appear to have been the sapphire and the ruby. Mention occurs also of the balass-ruby, the emerald, the topaz, the turquoise, the chalcedony, and, as accessories, pearls and garnets. Sometimes these gems were of great value. John Stephen Durantus observes that a bishop's ring should be made of pure gold, solid, set with a very valuable stone,—*cum gemmâ pretiosiori*.⁶ Another ring in my series is an exceedingly beautiful specimen of an "annulus pontificalis magnus," it is one of the finest mediæval rings known to me. (See

¹ See Bury Wills, p. 266, note.

² Dugdale's Mon. Angl. edit. Caley, vol.

i. See pl. 3, of seals of Benedictine monasteries.

³ Lib. Gard. p. 348, fol. 280.

⁴ Dart, Hist. of Cant. Cathedral, App. p. xiii.

⁵ P. 346, fol. 279.

⁶ De Ritibus, ii. c. ix. sec. 37, p. 289.

EXAMPLES OF EPISCOPAL RINGS.

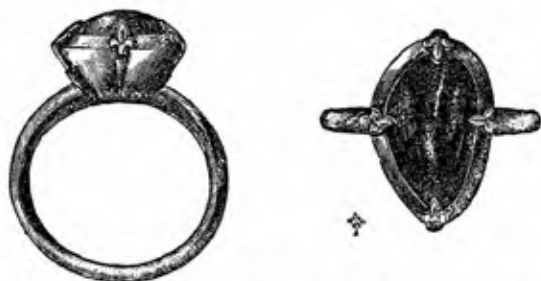


Fig. 2. Gold Ring, set with a sapphire. Winchester Cathedral, XIII. century.



Fig. 3. Gold Ring, set with an antique plasma. Found near Oxford. Waterton Coll.



Fig. 4. Gold Ring, obtained at Milan. Waterton Collection.

woodcuts, fig. 4.) Unfortunately the original stone has been removed, but I have had it re-set with an amethyst.⁷ A remarkable ring, set with a fine opal, was preserved at Mayence Cathedral, where it was found, with an enameled crosier, in the tomb, as supposed, of the Archbishop Sigfroi III., 1249. It has been figured by Hefner, Trachten, pl. 9.

III. Before the ring is conferred upon the bishop-elect, it is blessed. The old *Ordo Romanus* gives the following formula:—"Creator humani generis, Dator gratiæ spiritualis, Largitor æternæ salutis, Tu, Domine, emitte tuam benedictionem super hunc anulum, ut quicumque hoc sacrosancto fidei signo insignitus incedat, in virtute cœlestis defensionis ad æternam vitam sibi proficiat."

IV. I proceed to the ceremonial used in conferring the ring.

Before receiving the pastoral staff and the mitre, the bishop-elect is invested by the consecrating bishop with the pontifical ring. The formulæ seem to have varied at different times. The most ancient one, contained in the *Sacramental* of St. Gregory, 590, is this:—"Accipe anulum discretionis et honoris, fidei signum, ut quæ signanda sunt signes et quæ aperienda sunt prodas, quæ liganda sunt liges, quæ solvenda sunt solvas, atque credentibus per fidem baptismatis, lapsis autem sed pœnitentibus per mysterium reconciliationis januas regni cœlestis aperias; cunctis vero de thesauro dominico ad æternam salutem hominibus, consolatus gratiâ Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

Another form of a later date has the above, with the following addition:—"Memor sponsionis et desponsationis Ecclesiasticæ et dilectionis Domini Dei tui, in die quâ assecutus es hunc honorem, cave ne obliviscaris illius."⁸

The formula contained in the *Pontifical* of Egberht, Archbishop of York, is as follows:—"Accipe anulum pontificalis honoris ut sis fidei integritate munitus."⁹ The Anglo-Saxon *Pontifical* at Rouen and that of St. Dunstan at Paris both give the following:—"Accipe ergo anulum discretionis et honoris, fidei signum, ut quæ signanda sunt signes, es quæ aperienda sunt prodas."¹

⁷ I obtained this ring from Mr. Josephs, of New Bond-street, who told me that he had purchased it in Milan in December, 1858, and that it had been set with a valuable sapphire.

⁸ Vet. Ord. Rom.

⁹ Quoted by Dr. Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, vol. ii. p. 173.

¹ Ibid.

The ancient *Ordo Romanus* contains a formula couched in more elegant words :—" *Accipe annulum pontificalis honoris, ut sis fidei integritate ante omnia munitus, misericordiæ operibus insistens, infirmis compatiens, benevolentibus congaudens, aliena damna propria deputans, de alienis gaudiis tanquam de propriis exultans.*"² The form, however, now prescribed is somewhat brief :—" *Accipe annulum fidei scilicet signaculum, quatenus Sponsam Dei, Sanctam videlicet Ecclesiam, intemeratâ fide illibate custodias.*"³

It will be observed that, in the formula prescribed by St. Gregory and in the one contained in the two Anglo-Saxon Pontificalia, mention is made of the ring in terms which would imply that it was a signet. Certain it is that in the ancient Pontifical of Narbonne, in the ceremonial for the consecration of an altar, the rubric prescribes that the bishop shall take some "*bitumen*" and melt it over the place wherein the sacred relics are deposited, and imprint thereon seven times the seal of his ring (*proprii annuli*).⁴

v. I will now notice how the episcopal ring was worn.

It appears that bishops formerly wore their rings on the index of their right hand, being the middle one of the three fingers which they extend when giving their blessing ; but when celebrating mass they passed the ring on to the annular. They wore it on the index, as the forefinger was indicative of silence, and consequently of the *τὸ secretum*, since as wise and prudent men they ought to communicate the divine mysteries only to the worthy. Canonists interpret it, that, by means of the holy doctrine, the bishop ought to point out to his flock the way of salvation.

Gavanti says :—" *In missâ pontificali fertur annulus in digito dexteræ manus, non autem sinistræ, quod sponsæ proprium est, et item in digito annulari, qui remotior est ab indice, ne indice quasi coronato ab annulo, Episcopus uti videatur ad consecrationem corporis Christi, si quod sentio dicere liceat, nam annulus corona manuum dicitur a sapientioribus, et coram Christo coronam deponere conventi, seu remotiori saltem gestare.*"⁵

Gregory IV., in 827, ordered that the episcopal ring should not be worn on the left, but on the right hand, as it

² Vet. Ord. Rom.

³ Pontif. Rom. in Cons. Episcopi.

⁴ Martene, t. ii. p. 368, who observes

of this Pontifical, that it was "*ante 700 annos scriptum.*"

⁵ Gavanti, ed. Merati, p. 1737.

was more distinguished (*nobile*), and was the hand with which the blessing was imparted. He says:—"Consultissimum visum est, ut Pontifices aureo gemmatoque annulo, nequaquam in sinistrâ, sed signantes in dexterâ, uterentur;"⁶ and, after prescribing that bishops were to wear their rings whilst celebrating mass, he adds,—"*Annulos ipsos non in sinistrâ poni oportere, nullius venæ cordialis habitâ ratione, quæ gentilitatem sapere videretur, sed omnino in dexterâ, tanquam digniore, quâ sacræ benedictiones impenduntur; maxime quia ipsi Pontifices dum sacrificant non nimium exercitas manus habent; et sic ipsorum, tam summorum, quam cæterorum Pontificum consecrationibus dexteræ signanter Annulus imponitur.*"

The episcopal ring is now always worn on the annular finger of the right hand, and bishops never wear more than one. In the pictures of the early Italian masters, however, and on sepulchral effigies, bishops are represented with many rings, some of which are not unfrequently on the second joints of the fingers. A thumb-ring is often seen. In Raffaello's portrait of Julius II., the Pope is represented as wearing six rings. Certain it is that as late as the year 1516 the popes occasionally wore two or more rings. The *Cæremoniale S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, the first edition of which was printed in that year, contains the following directions at the robing of the Holy Father:—"Accedit primus Diaconum Cardinalium assistens, et imponit Papæ, jam mitram tenenti, annulum pontificalem et *alios quos voluerit.*"

As the large pontifical ring was of size sufficient to enable the bishop to pass it over the silk glove which he wears when pontificating, a smaller, or guard-ring, was used to keep it on the finger. This is proved from the following passage in the *Sarum Pontifical*, at the vesting of the bishop:—"Tunc sedendo (episcopo) chirothecas manibus imponat, et annulum pontificalem magnum, una cum uno parvo strictiori annulo ad tenendum fortius super imponat."⁷ There is a specimen in my *dactyliotheca* which I consider to have been probably a guard-ring.

VI. The mystical signification attached to the episcopal ring has been set forth by various ecclesiastical writers:—"Datur et annulus episcopo," observes St. Isidore of Seville,

⁶ De Cultu Pont. quoted by Cancellieri, p. 21.

⁷ Dr. Rock, Church of Our Fathers, vol. i. p. 172.

in the sixth century, "propter signum pontificalis honoris, vel signaculum secretorum."⁸ In the *Acta Conciliorum* we read as follows:—"Annulus datur episcopo, qui et aureus est et benedictus, daturque ad honorem et significationem quod ecclesiæ suæ sponsus est, et quod velut annulo signatorio non omnibus omnia mysteria revelare debet, et regulariter quidem."

In 1191, Innocent III. wrote that—"Annulus episcopi perfectionem donorum Spiritus Sancti in Christo significat."⁹ Durandus, who lived in the thirteenth century, enlarges upon the subject in his *Rationale*. The ring, he says, is the badge of fidelity with which Christ betrothed the Church, his holy Bride, so that she can say, "My Lord betrothed me with his ring." Her guardians are the bishops, who wear the ring for a mark and as a testimony of it; of whom the Bride speaks in the Canticles, "The watchmen who kept the city found me." The father gave a ring to the prodigal son, according to the text, "Put a ring on his finger." A bishop's ring, therefore, signifies *integritatem fidei*, that is to say, that he should love as himself the Church of God committed to him as his bride, and that he should keep it sober and chaste for the heavenly bridegroom, according to the words, "I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste Virgin to Christ," and that he should remember he is not the lord, but the shepherd.

Moreover, observes Durandus, the ancients sealed their letters with a ring. Hence a bishop wears a ring because it is his place to seal the mysteries of the Scriptures and the sacraments of the Church to the "*perfides*," and to reveal them to the lowly.

Again, a finger-ring given to the Head, *i.e.*, Christ, signifies the gifts of the Holy Spirit. For the finger "*articularis atque distinctus*" represents the Holy Ghost, according to that verse—"This is the finger of God," "If I by the finger of God cast out devils," &c.

A bishop, when he puts on his ring at vesting, says—"Cordis et corporis mei, Domine, digitos virtute decora et septiformis Spiritus sanctificatione circumda."

A ring of gold and round signifies the perfection of his gifts which Christ received without measure. And he has

⁸ De Ecclesiæ Offic. t. ii. c. 5.

⁹ Lib. i. Myst. Missæ, c. 46.

distributed his plenitude to different nations, giving, according to the Apostle, to one the word of wisdom ; to another the grace of healing ; to another the working of miracles, which the visible bishop imitates in the church, making some priests, others deacons, and others subdeacons. Therefore a jeweled ring shines on the bishop's finger, as through his ministry are conferred the "*fulgida charismata gratiarum.*"

From this explanation of Durandus, it would seem that the episcopal ring was regarded as symbolical, first—of perfect fidelity ; of the duty of sealing and of revealing ; and lastly, of the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

A curious question with reference to the English bishops now comes under our consideration. According to a document preserved in one of the registers of Christ Church, Canterbury, and published by Mr. Albert Way in the *Archæological Journal*, on the death of every archbishop or bishop, the king was entitled to his best horse and palfrey, with saddle and bridle ; a cloak with a hood ; a cup with the ewer ; a gold ring ; and the *meuta* or kennel of the hounds of the deceased. How these rights originated it may now be impracticable to ascertain. They existed in the reign of Edward I. and probably earlier. It is supposed that the seals of the deceased bishops were delivered up to their metropolitan, to prevent their falling into the hands of those who might make an improper use of them. In the province of Canterbury the second-best ring of the bishop accompanied his seals, his best was delivered up to the king. The rights of Canterbury with respect to the rings of the bishops are entered in one of the registers of Christ Church, in a hand, as Mr. Way states, apparently of the fourteenth century. These *Jura* are given at length in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*.¹ They may be briefly summed up as follows :—

The archbishop, or, *sede vacante*, the prior, was entitled to all the seals and the second-best ring (*annulum secundo-meliorem*) of each of the bishops of the province of Canterbury ; also to those of bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph. In the case of the bishop of Rochester, the archbishop claimed the *meuta* of hounds, palfrey, &c., the best ring

¹ *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xi. p. 274. This statement of the *Jura* due on the decease of the suffragans of Christ Church,

Canterbury, has also been preserved in Cott. MS., Vitell. E. 17, and is printed in the *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 88.

(annulum meliorem), and the administration of the temporalities of the bishopric. If the see of Canterbury were vacant, the king, *ratione episcopatus custodiâ sua existentis*, had all the perquisites and the best ring, but the prior received the second-best ring and the seals. And when the archbishop of Canterbury died, the king received the best palfrey, the best ring, the *meuta* of running dogs or hounds, and the cup of the deceased ; but the prior received all the seals and one second-best ring.

In 1310, on the death of Robert Orford, Bishop of Ely, his pontifical ring not having been delivered up in due time, a mandate was issued by Archbishop Winchelsey directed to Richard de Oteringham, then administering the temporalities of the vacant see, to obtain possession of the ring, which appears to have been kept back by two of the monks of Ely. The mandate recites the circumstances which had occurred, and describes the ring as "*annulum qui pontificalis vulgariter appellatur, qui de jure et consuetudine nostræ ecclesiæ Cantuariensis ad nos dignoscitur pertinere.*" It was alleged by the monks that the deceased bishop had made a gift of this ring in his lifetime to the prior and convent, but that, having no other pontifical ring, he had retained it for his own use until his death. The prior and convent then had possession of the ring, which they caused to be affixed to the shrine of St. Ealburga. The two monks were excommunicated, and the archbishop forthwith cited the prior and convent to appear before him.²

On the death of Anian, Bishop of Bangor, in 1327, the metropolitan see being at that time vacant, the prior of Christ Church claimed the ring, seals, and other effects which had not been rendered up to him in due course. The claims of the Crown were rigorously enforced, as the entries in the Wardrobe Book of Edward I., before cited, fully prove.

In conclusion I may remark that Mr. King, in his erudite work on antique gems, offers some observations on episcopal rings and the stones set in them ; he "thinks it probable that, when such mediæval rings occur set with a ruby, instead of a sapphire, they have belonged to bishops who were at the same time cardinals."³

² These curious details appear in Archbishop Winchelsey's Register, and may be seen in Wilkins' Concilia, ii. 403.

³ Antique Gems, by the Rev. C. W. King, p. 297.



Fig. 6. Gold Ring, set with a gnostic gem, an intaglio on jasper. Found in the tomb of Seelfrid, Bishop of Chichester, 1125-1151.



Fig. 7. Gold Ring, set with a sapphire. Found in the tomb of Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, 1140-1169.

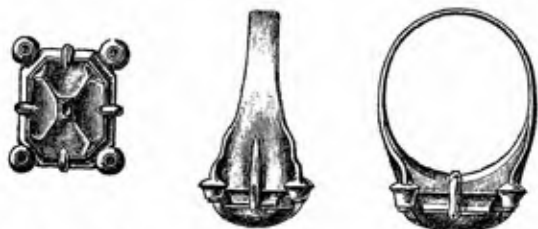


Fig. 8. Gold Ring, set with a sapphire and four emeralds. Found in the tomb of a bishop unknown.

I have already shown, however, that cardinals' rings were always set with a sapphire :⁴ they may have worn additional rings set with various stones, but the cardinal's ring was and still customarily is, set with a sapphire. And in the old inventories, episcopal rings are enumerated as being set with various gems, such as rubies, sapphires, pearls, and garnets. Hence I do not think that Mr. King's observations can be regarded as correct.

It may be useful for the purpose of reference to give a list of a few of the authentic episcopal rings now in existence in England.

1. Seffrid, Bishop of Chichester, who died in 1151. This is a most curious ring, for it is set with a gnostic gem, representing the figure with the head of a cock. It is a strange subject for the ring of a bishop ; but still it does not prove that Seffrid was a believer in gnosticism, as is stated in the *Archæologia*. This ring is given in the accompanying illustrations, from drawings by the skilful pencil of Mr. Henry Shaw, F.S.A. (See fig. 6.)

2. Massive gold ring, set with a sapphire. This was found in a tomb on the thumb of the skeleton of a bishop, supposed to be Hilary, who died in 1169, together with a silver chalice and paten, and a pastoral staff. (See woodcuts, fig. 7.)

3. Gold ring, with an octagonal sapphire, set *à griffes*, and with four small emeralds in the corners. This was found in a stone coffin on which was inscribed *EPISCOPUS*, and which also contained some remains of vestments and a pastoral staff. (See woodcuts, fig. 8.)

These three rings belong to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester.

4. Gold ring, set with a ruby, and found in York Minster, in the tomb of Archbishop Sewell, who died 1258.

5. Gold ring, also set with a ruby, found in the tomb of Archbishop Greenfield, who died 1315.

6. Gold ring, the stone of which has fallen out, and which bears on the inside the *chançon* × *honnor* × *et* × *joye*. ×. It was found in the tomb of Archbishop Bowet, who died in 1423.

These three rings are preserved in York Minster, and are figured in the *Historical Guide* to that Cathedral by the Rev. G. A. Poole and Mr. Hugall, pl. xxiv. p. 196.

⁴ *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xvi. p. 280.

7. Large gold ring, before noticed, set with an irregular oval sapphire, secured by four grips in the form of fleurs-de-lys. The stone is pierced longitudinally. This was found in Winchester Cathedral, and may be assigned to the thirteenth century. (See woodcuts, fig. 2).

8. The ring of William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester; he⁵ succeeded 1366—7, and died in 1404. A massive plain gold ring, set with a sapphire.

By his will he bequeathed to his successor in the Bishopric of Winchester his best book, *De Officio Pontificali*, his best missal, and his larger gold pontifical ring, set with a sapphire, and surrounded with four balass rubies.⁶

9. Gold ring, set with an oval *plasma* intaglio of the head of Minerva; on the shoulders of the hoop are two square-faceted ornaments, each set with five small rubies, *en cabochon*. Found in the tomb of Bishop Gardiner, in Winchester Cathedral. He succeeded 1531—1555.

These rings belong to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester.

10. Massive gold ring, set with a sapphire. The shoulders are ornamented with flowers, and inside is the *chançon en bon an*. Found in the tomb of John Stanbery, Bishop of Hereford, 1452. He died in 1474.

11. Gold ring, set with an uncut ruby, and which has on either shoulder a Tau cross, filled in with green enamel, and a bell appended. Within is the inscription, enameled, *abt marix*. Found in the tomb of Richard Mayew, or Mayo, Bishop of Hereford, 1504. He died 18 April, 1516.

These rings were found in Hereford Cathedral. They are figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi., p. 249.

12. Massive gold ring, set with a sapphire, *en cabochon*. This was found on one of the fingers of St. Cuthbert, when his coffin was opened by the visitors in 1537. It came into the possession of Thomas Watson, the Catholic dean, appointed on the dismissal of Robert Horne, the Protestant dean, in 1553. Dean Watson gave the ring to Sir Robert Hare, who gave it to Antony Brown, created Viscount Montague by Queen Mary in 1554. He gave it to Dr. Richard Smith, Bishop

⁵ This and the following rings from Winchester, were exhibited in the Loan Collection at Kensington, June 1862, and are described in the Catalogue by Mr. R.

H. Smith, to whose kindness we are indebted for the wood-cut accompanying this memoir.

⁶ Test. Vêtust. p. 767.

of Calcedon, *in partibus*, and Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, whom he had for a long time sheltered from the persecution. Bishop Smith gave the ring to the monastery of the English Canonesses of St. Augustine at Paris; and it is now preserved at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham. The ring is evidently not one worn by the sainted bishop during his lifetime. It does not appear to be of an earlier date than the fourteenth century; and a gold ring, set with a sapphire, and almost its counterpart, which was found at Flodden, is now in the British Museum. Probably the ring had belonged to one of the Bishops of Durham, and had been offered to the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and placed on the finger of his corpse on some occasion when the shrine was opened. The authentication of the ring simply states the fact that it was found on the hand of St. Cuthbert in 1537. It has been figured in the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. ii., N.S., p. 66.

The ring of Arnulphus, consecrated Bishop of Metz in 614, is stated to be preserved in the treasury of the cathedral at that city. It is believed to be of an earlier date than the fourth century, and it is set with an opaque milk-white cornelian, engraved with the sacred symbol of the fish.

In addition to these examples, I may adduce two other French episcopal rings. One is that of Gerard, Bishop of Limoges, who died in 1022. Didron thus describes it. "*Cet anneau est en or massif; il pese 14 gram. 193 m.; aucune pierrerie ne le decore. La tête de l'anneau, ou chaton, est formée de quatre fleurs trilobées opposées par la base sur lesquelles courent de légers filets d'email bleu.*"⁷

The second is a gold ring, with an irregular oval sapphire set *à griffes*. The shank is formed of two winged dragons. It is stated to have been found in 1829, in the tomb of Thierry, Bishop of Verdun, 1165, and is now in the Londesborough collection. See the Londesborough Catalogue, No. 45, where it is engraved.

The following extracts from the Wardrobe Book of 28th Edward I. (A.D. 1299—1360), relating to episcopal rings, are of interest.

*Jocalia remanencia in fine anni 27.*⁸

Annulus auri cum sapphiro qui fuit fratris Willelmi quondam Dublin' archiepiscopi defuncti.

⁷ Ann. Arch. x. 178.

⁸ Lib. Gard. p. 343.

Jocalia remanencia in fine anni 27 de jocalibus Regi datis, et post decessum prælatorum Regis restitutis anno 25.⁹

Annulus auri cum sapphiro crescenti qui fuit N. quondam Sarum episcopi defuncti.

Annulus auri cum rubetto perforato qui fuit Roberti Coventr' et Lichfield' episcopi defuncti.

Jocalia remanencia in fine anni 27 de jocalibus Regi datis et post decessum prælatorum Regis restitutis.

Annulus auri cum sapphiro qui fuit I. Ebor' Archiepiscopi defuncti, anno 24.

Jocalia remanencia in fine anni 27 de jocalibus receptis de venerabili Patre Will' Bathon' et Wellen' episcopo.

Tres annuli auri cum rubettis.

Unus annulus auri cum ameraudâ.

Unus annulus auri cum topacio.

Unus annulus auri cum pereditis.

The *Jocalia Sancti Thomæ*, which are given by Dart,¹ and which have been referred to in this memoir, are as follows—

Annulus pontificalis magnus cum rubino rotundo in medio.

Item. Annulus magnus cum sapphiro nigro qui vocatur lup.²

Item. Annulus cum parvo sapphiro nigro qui vocatur lup.

Item. Annulus cum sapphiro quadrato aquoso.

Item. Annulus cum lapide oblongo qui vocatur turkoyse.

Item. Annulus unus cum viridi cornelino sculpto rotundo.

Item. Annulus parvus cum smaragdine triangulato.

Item. Annulus unus cum chalcedonio oblongo.

ADDITION TO THE MEMOIR ON NIELLO.

(Archæol. Journ. vol. xix., p. 327.)

In the Essay on Niello which I had the honour to read last year at our Special Exhibition of examples of the arts of Enamel and Niello, I mentioned the nielloed shrine at Hildesheim, in Hanover, which is said to contain the head of St. Oswald, and I then stated that it could not be the head of the sainted Saxon king of that name, since that relic is buried with the body of St. Cuthbert, which still lies hidden and undisturbed at Durham. During a recent excursion on the continent I have ascertained the actual facts. The shrine contains a silver head, in the top of which a small fragment of the skull of St. Oswald is let in, and covered by a piece of glass. This fragment was sent to Hildesheim from Durham many years ago.

⁹ Lib. Gard. p. 344.

¹ Hist. of Cant. Cath. App. p. xlii.

² This may signify *en cabochon*, uncut. Roquefort gives "*Loupe*, nœud, bosse, pierre précieuse brute." See Ducange,

v. "*Loppa*, *Loupa*, gemma imperfecta.—*Loppa* saphirorum, Inv. MS., 1363; *loupa* saphiræ, in al. 1376." Hence, in modern French, *loupe*, a convex lens or magnifying glass.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PAINTED GLASS IN THE EAST WINDOW
OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

By CHARLES WINSTON.

IF it were possible for any one to suppose that Gothic architecture was indigenous to these northern regions, a glance at the windows of the earlier buildings in the style might suffice to undeceive him. The smallness and fewness of the openings, and the deep colours of the glazing, are alike suggestive of a climate where a blazing sun exacts this homage to his power. The instinctive desire, under an obscure sky, for light is exemplified by the increased size given to the windows as the architecture gradually became acclimatised, and by the diminution of their colouring. And after Gothic architecture, in its turn, was superseded by another exotic style better suited to modern wants, a happy appreciation of the popular love of light characterises the works of the greatest of our national architects, Sir Christopher Wren.

It is interesting to follow the progress of these changes, and observe their relation to each other, in the mediæval styles of Architecture and Glass painting.¹ In the Norman style, and in the earlier part of the Early English, whenever the use of much white glass occurs, it should be regarded as a submission to dire necessity. But the employment of white glass in large quantity, as a matter of choice,

¹ According to Rickman's nomenclature, which seems as intelligible as any that has since been invented, the Early English style of architecture, which succeeded the Norman towards the last quarter of the twelfth century, was in its turn succeeded by the Decorated in the last quarter of the thirteenth, and this by the Perpendicular in the last quarter of the fourteenth.

There is no style in painted glass

coeval with the Norman in architecture, the glass found in Norman buildings really belonging to the Early English style of glass painting, which was succeeded by the Decorated about 1280, and that by the Perpendicular about 1380. The Cinque Cento style in glass painting, which was concurrent for a while with the Perpendicular in architecture, commenced about 1500 and ended in 1550.

is observable in the latter part of the Early English period ; and it continued throughout the Decorated, in an increasing ratio to the coloured. With the Perpendicular style—the style of architecture which we in England associate with the idea of “ walls of glass ”—occurred a remarkable change in the glass manufacture. The coloured glass was made less deep, and generally speaking more even in tint, alterations absolutely necessary to suit it to the more finished mode of painting then adopted, and which culminated in the Cinque Cento ; and white glass, whiter than before, was used in increasing profusion. The result is of course to occasion the transmission of a greater amount of light through the glazing. These changes were accompanied, at particular epochs, with remarkable alterations in the details of the design ; peculiarities on which the antiquary mainly relies as affording indications of date, and which are nearly, but not strictly, synchronous with changes in the corresponding details of the architecture—the change in the architectural detail usually preceding by a few years that in the painted glass.

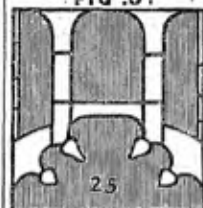
A remarkable illustration of this fact is afforded by the great East window of Gloucester Cathedral, and its glazing. The stone framework of the window is an early but decided example of the Perpendicular style, and the painted glass is a pure example of the Decorated. So pure is it indeed that, but for the incontrovertible evidence of date afforded by the heraldry in the window, we should hesitate to proclaim it to be one of the latest instances of the Decorated style of glass painting. It presents no feature really indicative of the great change of style which was then imminent. Its material,² its mode of execution, the use of “ smear shading,”³ the forms of the human features, especially of the eye and nose, are all such as any well-pronounced specimen of the style exhibits. The general design, too, of the glass painting, though in some respects novel, is in strict accordance with the rules of the Decorated style, and has no resemblance to a

² The red used is the “streaked” sort, which ceased to be manufactured soon after the middle of the fourteenth century. The peculiarity of its appearance is owing to the mode in which the metallic copper, its principal colouring material, is precipitated in the process.

³ The difference between “smear” and

“stippled” shading is explained in the Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, by an Amateur, vol. i. pp. 16, 125. The one is characteristic of the Decorated, the other of the Perpendicular style. See also Archaeological Journal, ix. p. 47.

FIG. 3.



E

FIG. 1

FIG. 2.

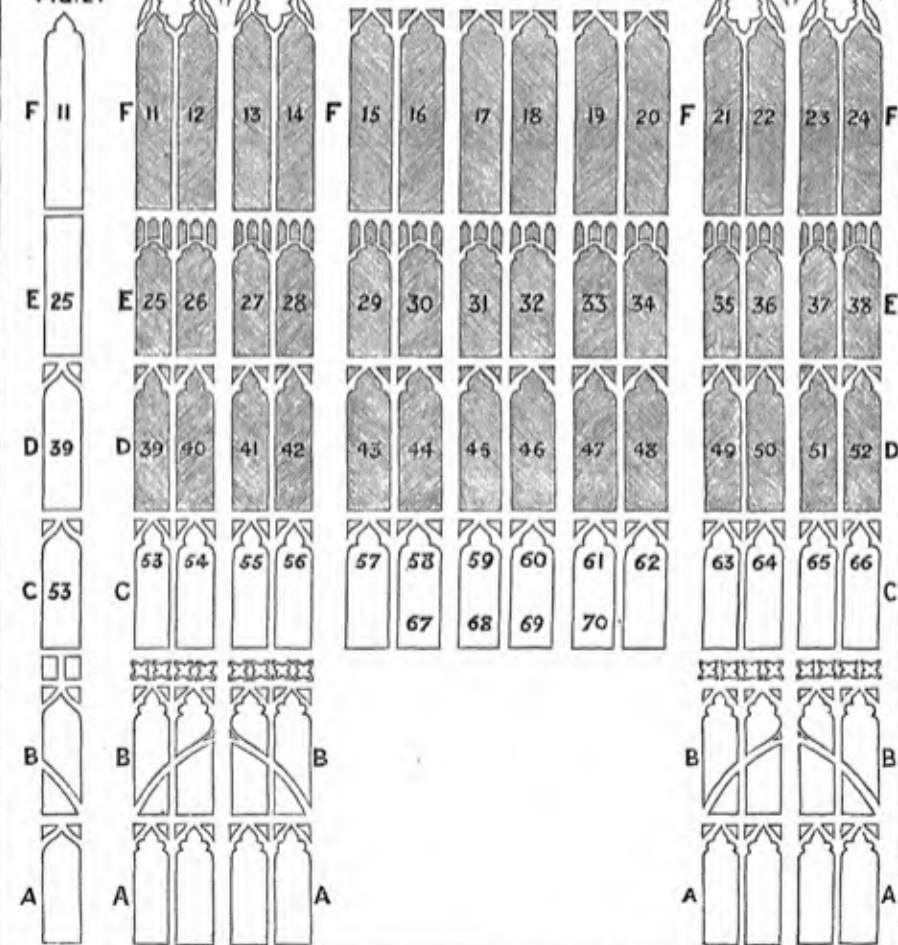


Diagram illustrative of the East Window of Gloucester Cathedral.

Perpendicular example, except in the very large proportion which the white glass in it bears to the coloured.

The design of the glass painting will be more readily comprehended by a reference to that of the stonework, which is shown by the accompanying diagram (fig. 1).

It will be seen that there are towards the top of the Central portion of the window two tiers of Lower lights more than in the Wings of the window. The space left blank in the diagram, towards the bottom of the window, is occupied partly with solid stonework, partly with lights open to the Lady Chapel, and which never have been glazed.⁴

The remains of the original glass plainly show that the tiers of lights in the Wings of the window, marked B B, B B, were filled with patternwork principally of white glass, the lights being glazed with white quarries, each ornamented with a star, and having a narrow edging on its two upper sides so arranged as to form, when the quarries are placed together, a reticulated pattern; and being bordered with an ornamental pattern of white and yellow foliage and flowers on a red ground. These borders are cut through by the arched tracery bars shown in the diagram. At present they pass into the spandrels of the lights in the tiers A A, A A. It is more probable that these spandrels were originally filled with ornamented quarries, like the spandrels of the tiers B B, B B, C C, and the pierced transom which separates these tiers. The lights in the tiers A A, A A, retain none of their original glazing. It is most likely that they were treated in the same way as the lights of the tiers B B, B B.

The lights of the tier C C were quarried and bordered precisely in the same way as the lights in the tiers B B, B B. And they were enriched by the insertion in the upper part of the light of an ornamented panel containing a shield of arms, and, in the lower part, of a small ornamented roundel. The original panels remain in all the Wing lights: in the Centre lights they have been destroyed, and in four of these lights a second row of shields has been inserted at a late

⁴ In plan this window forms a shallow bay, its centre being slightly advanced eastward, and joined with the wings at obtuse angles. Though the Gloucester window is larger than the east window of York Minster, yet if we consider the extent of the glazing it is only the second

largest window in the kingdom. The Gloucester window is about 72 ft. high, and 38 wide, and the York window, which is entirely glazed, about 78 ft. high and 33 wide. The contract for glazing the latter is dated 1405.

period. The loss of some of the original shields from the Centre of the tier is also to be regretted.

The lights throughout the next tier DD are each filled with a canopy enshrining a single figure. The canopy base serves as a pedestal to the figure, and occupies the entire width of the light; a fact worthy of observation on account of the proof it affords that the series of shrinework in the window, the position of which is indicated by the shading in the diagram, was intended to commence in this tier of lights, and not in any lower tier. The canopy is of simple design, consisting of side jambs which support a flat-fronted arched hood, surmounted with a tall crocketed pediment terminating within the light in a finial. On each side of the pediment is represented, in very strange perspective, the side of a part of a high-pitched roof which may be supposed to run parallel with the front of the window, and to cover the niches of all the canopies in this tier. The side jambs do not terminate in this tier of lights, but proceed upwards, without further interruption than that occasioned by their being cut through by the stone framework, behind which they appear to pass, into the lights of the next tier, through which they again proceed, and so on, until those in the Wing lights terminate in finials in the tiers FF, FF, and those in the Centre lights in the tier HH. The side jambs support in each of the lights of the tier EE a flat-fronted arched canopy hood, surmounted with a high crocketed pediment, which terminates in a finial in the centre light of the pierced transom above; and in each of the lights of the tier FF, FF, a flat-fronted arched canopy hood surmounted with a high crocketed pediment, behind which rises a lofty crocketed spire, terminating within the light in a finial. In like manner, in each of the lights of the Central tier GG, is supported a canopy hood, the spires and pinnacles of which ascend into the lights of the tier HH, which they occupy, and where they terminate.

As before mentioned, each canopy, pediment, and spire terminates in a finial. But from behind each of the pediments in the tiers DD, EE, and of the spires in the Central tier FF, there issues a shaft which proceeds upwards into the light immediately above, where it finishes in a bracket, having no connexion with the canopy jambs, and which serves as a pedestal for the figure in that light. Thus the

figures in the tier EE stand upon brackets ultimately supported by the pediments in the tier DD; those in the tier FF, FF, upon brackets virtually sustained by the pediments in the tier EE, and those in the tier GG upon brackets supported in like manner by the spires in the Centre tier FF. But the spires in the Wing tiers FF and FF, and in the Centre tier HH, are not surmounted with any shafts; which shows clearly that the termination of the shrinework in these tiers of lights is original. In corroboration of this I may add that the heads of the lights in the Wing tiers FF, and FF, and in the Centre tier HH, are, alone of the lights containing the shrinework, each bordered with a narrow strip of plain white glass.

The shrinework is entirely, and the figures are almost entirely composed of white glass, enriched with the yellow stain. It, as well as the figures, is backed with red and blue glass in alternate vertical stripes. The colours of the stripes are denoted in the diagram by the direction of the diagonal lines of the shading. The shading from left to right indicates red, that from right to left, blue.

It will be perceived that the centre stripe occupies the space of two lights, and is red, and that the other stripes are of the width of one light apiece, and alternately blue and red. The general effect of the window is that of a series of white canopies and figures upon a coloured ground. The continuation of the same colour perpendicularly alike through the spire grounds and niches of the canopies, imparts breadth to the design, whilst monotony is prevented by the alternation of the red and blue stripes; and great point and prominence are given to the centre of the design by the double width of the middle stripe, and its red colour.

The remains of the glazing of the Tracery lights show that this portion of the composition was formed of a pattern of white glass, enriched with a few coloured ornaments. The small holes in the tracery are filled with plain pieces of white glass, and the other lights are bordered with plain strips of the same material, and filled with white quarries ornamented like those in the lower part of the window. The topmost light, No. 1, is now occupied with the figure of a pope⁵ and a canopy, both of the fifteenth century. In

⁵ The figure wears a triple-crowned tiara, and holds a double cross. I suspect it was brought from the Lady Chapel.

all probability this light was originally filled with ornamented quarries, and it is not unlikely that it was enriched, as the lights Nos. 2, 2 are, with a large five-pointed flaming star of yellow pot-metal glass, or some similar ornament. The lights Nos. 3, 3, 3, 3, are each adorned with a small ornamental roundel in white and yellow stained glass.

Thus the general design of the window may be divided into three parts. The lower part and top consisting of a silvery expanse of white ornamental work, and the middle of a grand series of shrinework, rendered the more imposing by its towering centre and bold horizontal summit. Though richly coloured, especially towards the top, this part of the composition contains so much white as to prevent its forming too decided a contrast with the rest of the window. The disproportion between the white ornamented space below and that above the shrinework, which appears in the diagram, is in reality not felt, on account of the partial obscuration of the lower part of the window by the mass of the Lady Chapel; and which, by varying the colours, greatly increases the beauty and effect of the design. The Lady Chapel that existed when the window was put up, though smaller than the present, was large enough to have produced a somewhat similar effect; a circumstance which may have determined the designers of the glass shrinework not to carry it lower than the fourth tier of lights from the bottom.

As a doubt of the originality of the present arrangement has, however, been expressed, it is hoped that the following considerations may assist in dispelling it.

The principle of filling the middle part of a window with shrinework highly enriched with colour, and the upper and lower parts with little else than white patternwork, was too commonly adopted throughout the Decorated period, to render it necessary to quote instances of the practice. And though the elevating of the centre of the shrinework above its flanks, as in this example, is as rare in this country as it is striking and beautiful in effect, it should be recollected that similar arrangements may be observed in Continental designs contemporaneous, or nearly so, with it. Again, the general arrangement of the upper part of the design of the East window harmonises with that of the clearstory windows of the choir. These windows, five in number on each side,

at present retain sufficient fragments of their original glazing to indicate its design. Each of these windows is divided by stonework into two tiers of lower lights and a head of tracery. The four lights of the lower tier each contained a figure⁶ and canopy, coloured probably like those in the East window, but the rest of the window was filled with patternwork, composed almost entirely of white glass, each light of the upper tier being glazed with white ornamented quarries, and enriched with two ornamental roundels of white and yellow stained glass, or with two small coloured panels of ornament. It is true that these lights were furnished with borders, like those in the lower tiers of the East window, c c, &c., on a red ground; but the greater size of these lights, compared with any of those in the tracery of the East window, rendered this slight addition of colour necessary to prevent poverty of effect. The tracery lights of the clearstory windows were, like the tracery lights of the East, bordered only with plain strips of white glass, and filled with ornamented quarries, and a small roundel of white and yellow stained glass was inserted in each of the two principal tracery lights of each window.

Moreover, all the little pieces of plain white glass which, as before mentioned, fill the triangular and other small openings in the tracery of the East window, were, until the recent rebuilding of the stonework, undoubtedly *in situ*; a circumstance of itself sufficient to prove that the upper part of the window always had a *white ground*. The glazing also of such of the tracery lights as were coeval with the stonework had been formed exactly to fit the openings, and the glass had always been cut with the grozing iron and not with the diamond, and was universally retained in lead-work of the same age as the glass.

These facts cannot reasonably be reconciled with the

⁶ No part of these figures remains, which prevents the fact of any removals thence into the East window (however probable) being tested by admeasurement. Parts of no less than six figures, coeval with the glass in the clearstory, may be seen, as insertions in the lower part of the east window of the Lady Chapel. The lights of the lowest tier in the four windows on each side of the clearstory next the East window, range nearly with the lights of the tier F F, F F

of that window, being, however, somewhat shorter than the latter; they are also about 3 in. wider than the widest lights of the East window, i.e. the six central lights. They, therefore, may be conceived to have originally contained figures somewhat larger than those in any part of the East window. The corresponding lights in the fifth clearstory window on each side, are of the same width as the central lights of the East window.

theory that the glazing of the tracery lights has been transferred from the lights at the bottom of the East window, which, as before remarked, have lost their original glass, or indeed from elsewhere.

Features occur in the East window which certainly evince a desire to avoid unnecessary expense ; but this, as it seems to me, proves only that our mediæval ancestors were wiser men than modern enthusiasts imagine them to have been. I allude principally to the simplification of the glazier's work in the heads of the lower lights. This has been effected by making the outside of the stone framework plainer than the inside, and fitting the glass to the plainer openings. Fig. 2 represents an exterior view of a column of lights, showing how much of the ornamentation that is visible from the inside is hidden by the glass from a spectator on the outside of the building. The painted glass borders in the foliated heads of the lights in the tiers, A A, A A, B B, B B, C C, do not conform to the cuspidations, but each follows the course of the plain ogee panel into which the glazing is fitted : so that the border, when seen from within, appears to be cut and partially hidden by the cuspidations which are before it. Again, instead of the openings in the transom, which is immediately above the lights of the tier, E E, being glazed separately, the topmost glazing panel of the light beneath is prolonged upwards, and fitted into the square-headed panel shown in fig. 2. Plain white glass is indeed used to cover those portions of the stonework which are overlaid by the glazing panel, as shown in fig. 3, where the shaded part represents the painted glass, and the plain part the white. But if the intention was not merely to economise the colouring material, but also to allow of the stonework being seen from the outside, the latter object has been frustrated by the strong local colour of the white glass, which effectually conceals the stonework. The same principle of forming a window-frame more ornamented on the inside of the glass-line than without is partly adopted in the great West window ; and I should not have alluded to the circumstance, if it, and a certain awkward finishing of the shrinework in the Wing lights of the tier F F, F F, had not been adduced to prove that the original design of the window was not fully carried out as intended.

The Figures in the window have suffered severely, especially

those in the lights of the South Wing. Scarcely one remains entire ; portions more or less important of the original glazing having been lost, and supplied by glass of various dates, several are reduced to little else than a mere congeries of fragments. Seven figures, and parts of three others, may I think be pronounced to be insertions, and presumed, with the exception of one figure which is of later date, to have been taken from the clearstory windows of the choir.

Enough, however, remains to indicate the nature of the original design. Its leading subject was the enthronement of the Blessed Virgin. The principal group is placed in the two central lights of the tier FF, FF, and was attended by the twelve apostles. The tier above, GG, was occupied with angels ; the tier EE with various saints ; and the tier DD with figures of ecclesiastics, intermixed perhaps with those of one or two kings.⁷

Of the angels, five remain *in situ*, as is indicated by their attitudes, and the contrasting in each case of the colour of the nimbus with the ground of the canopy niche. The figures are arranged in pairs, looking or turned towards one another. Thus, Nos. 5, 7, and 9, regard the south, and Nos. 8 and 10 (No. 6 is a late insertion) the north.

The figure of the Virgin is placed in the light No. 17. It is crowned, enthroned, and regards the figure of our Lord, which occupies the adjoining light, No. 18. There is reason to believe that this figure also, which now appears to be standing, was enthroned. Of the apostles, St. Peter stands in the first place of honour, No. 16 ; and St. Paul in the next, No. 19. Both are turned towards the principal group. The two next figures, St. John the Evangelist, in No. 15, and St. Thomas, in No. 20, are turned from it, evidently for

⁷ Some curious arrangements of apostles and saints, illustrative of the feelings of the times, are given in Mrs. Jameson's work, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. i. p. 147. The following has been supplied by the kindness of a friend.

From S. Lorenzo fuori il Muro — Pelagius, St. Laurence, a Saint, Christ, St. Paul, St. Stephen, a Saint, query St. George. All but the first are nimbed.

From the Lateran — St. Paul, St. Peter, Virgin Mary, Christ, St. John Baptist, St. John Evangelist, St. Andrew.

Below in the same composition — St. Jude, St. Simon, St. James (an ink-horn),

St. Thomas, St. James (a book), St. Philip, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Matthias. All these are nimbed.

Old Tribune, near the Lateran — St. Luke, St. Paul, Christ, St. Peter, St. Andrew.

Below — St. Barnabas, St. Thaddeus, St. James, St. Matthew, St. Philip, St. John, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, St. Simon, St. Matthias, St. Mark.

In Sta. Maria Trastevere — Innocent, Lawrence, Calixtus, the Virgin, Christ, St. Peter, Cornelius, and some other legendary saints.

the sake of artistic effect. In No. 14, St. Andrew is recognised by his cross, and in No. 12, St. James the Less by his club. Two other sainted personages, similar in appearance to the rest, but without attributes, occupy Nos. 11 and 13. These four figures are all turned towards the principal group, and therefore regard the south. So far as we have gone, all the figures in this tier may be considered to be *in situ*. On the opposite side of the window, the feet only, and part of the draperies, of two apostolic figures remain in the lights Nos. 23 and 24, and in attitudes showing that the figures to which they belonged must have been turned towards the north. The figures of kings in the lights Nos. 21 and 22, and in the upper parts of the lights Nos. 23 and 24, are certainly not *in situ*, nor do they appear to have belonged to this window.

The figures in the two next tiers, EE and DD, were originally arranged in the same way as the angels in the tier GG, in pairs, looking or turned towards one another. I believe that all those which occupy the lights Nos. 25 to 36 inclusive, are *in situ*. Amongst them may be recognised St. Cecily, in No. 25 ; St. George, in No. 26 ; St. Canute (?), in No. 28 ; St. Margaret, in No. 29 ; St. Lawrence, in No. 30 ; and St. John Baptist, in No. 32. Of these figures, Nos. 25, 27, &c. regard the south, and the alternate ones the north. Subjected to the test afforded by attitude, the figure in No. 37, which is turned towards the north, is certainly not *in situ*, and from the large size of the heads, and other circumstances, I think that both this and the next figure, No. 38, are insertions.

In the tier DD, there is reason to believe that all the figures are *in situ*, except those of kings in Nos. 46, 47, and 48.

Subjected to the test of attitude, the figure No. 46 is certainly not *in situ* ; and its large size militates against its being considered an original one. The same remark applies to the figure No. 47, as also to the upper part of the figure in No. 48, and with the greater force, since in the lower part of this light may be perceived the remains of an ecclesiastical figure, turned, according to its right order, northwards. We have therefore in the Wing lights of this tier, proceeding in the same order from the centre, a series of ecclesiastics, mitred, or bare-headed, but all fully vested, and

holding pastoral staves, or crosiers, the mitred individuals occupying the lights Nos. 42, 40, 49 and 51; and the bare-headed, the alternate lights in the Wings, and Nos. 43 and 44 in the centre. It is impossible now to ascertain to which class the remains of the figure at the bottom of the light No. 48 belonged; nor is it quite certain to which No. 44 originally belonged, the glazing round the indent of the head of this figure not being trustworthy. But if No. 46 originally was occupied with the figure of a king, and if the royal personage represented in No. 45 is really *in situ*, we might perhaps conclude that the unity of the design was preserved by the figures of two bare-headed ecclesiastics, occupying the lights Nos. 47 and 48.

I have hazarded no conjectural identifications of such figures as are undistinguished by symbols, distinctive habiliments, or other attributes, and which, apparently, having been drawn from one common model, exhibit but little individuality. Those who are inclined to pursue the subject further will find a fuller description of the figures in the following catalogue; as well as the reasons upon which this brief criticism has been principally based.

5. An angel with a blue nimbus holding a palm-branch, and turned towards the south. The wing is coloured in bars, the upper one being white, the centre blue, and the end yellow. The hair of the head is stained yellow.⁸

6. A little of the original canopy-work remains, but the rest of the glazing belongs to the fifteenth century, and represents the Virgin and the Holy Infant. The borders of the draperies have been ornamented with coloured pieces of glass stuck on in the way recommended by the Monk Theophilus,⁹ but these additions have fallen off. The crown on the Virgin's head might at first be mistaken for one of classical character; its form is, however, due to the ingenuity of some glazier in modern times, who has substituted points for the original leaves round the circlet.

7. The remains of an angel, similar to No. 5, having a blue nimbus, and turned towards the south. The figure has suffered much. The head is of the fifteenth century.

8. An angel, like No. 5, having a blue nimbus, and turned towards the north.

9. An angel, like No. 5, having a red nimbus, and turned towards the

⁸ When no colour is expressed, white glass is to be understood.

⁹ See the translation of ch. xxviii. in the *Diversarum Artium Schedula* of Theophilus, given in the *Inquiry into the Difference of Style* observable in Ancient

Glass Paintings, by an Amateur, vol. i., p. 337, and note (k), p. 28, *ibid.* The work of Theophilus is said to have been written about 1220; see *Arch. Journ.* vol. xix., p. 347.

south. The head and upper part of this figure are of the fifteenth century.

10. An angel, like No. 5, having a blue nimbus, and turned towards the north.

11. A male figure, having a blue nimbus, holding a book in the left hand, and turned towards the south.

12. A male figure, having a red nimbus, and holding a club, the handle of which is of yellow stained glass, and the end of blue glass. The figure is turned towards the south, but the eyes regard the north.—St. James the Less.

13. A male figure, having a blue nimbus, holding a book, and turned towards the south. This figure is much mutilated.

14. A male figure, having a red nimbus, and pointing with the left hand to an X cross, coloured green. The figure is turned towards the south, but the eyes regard the north.—St. Andrew.

15. A male figure, with a blue nimbus, holding a palm-branch in his left hand, and with an eagle perched on his right, looking into his face. This figure is turned, and looks towards the north.—St. John the Evangelist.

16. A male figure, having a light blue nimbus (the colour of the niche is deep blue diapered),¹ and holding two keys in his right, and a model of a church in his left hand. The figure is turned towards the south.—St. Peter.

17. A female figure, crowned, and having a blue nimbus, seated, and looking towards the figure in No. 18. Though seated it is as tall as the other figures which stand erect.—The Virgin Mary.

18. A male figure, crowned, and having a green nimbus, with a white cross in it (the niche ground is red, and, unlike the other red ground, is diapered). The mantle is fastened with a purple-coloured morse. The figure regards that in No. 17. The right hand is raised in benediction; no stigma is shown. The left hand, lower part of the body, and feet, have been lost, and the ground of the lower half of the niche is not original. What remains of the drapery is not inconsistent with the belief that the figure, when perfect, was seated. This figure doubtless represented Our Lord.

19. A male figure, with a light blue nimbus (the niche ground is deep blue diapered), holding a sword in the right hand, and a book in the left. The face is lost. The figure is turned towards the north.—St. Paul.

20. A male figure, without a nimbus, the head draped and bearded, holding a spear in the right hand, and a girdle in the left. The figure is turned towards the south.—St. Thomas the Apostle.

21. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, and holding a sceptre; no nimbus. The lower part of the body is a mere mass of fragments. It is turned towards the north, but being on a larger scale than the other figures in this tier, I cannot suppose it to be one of the original figures of the window.

¹ The ground of this entire column of lights, viz., 16, 30, 44, is blue diaper, as was that of the column containing Nos. 19, 33, 47. The ground of the spires of the canopy of No. 47 is diapered, but

the ground of the niche is not, a corroboration of the opinion elsewhere expressed, that the figure in this light does not belong to this window.

22. A male figure crowned, in royal robes, holding a sword in the left hand. The right is lost; no nimbus. This figure is very much made up of fragments; it is apparently on the same scale as the original figures in the tier, and is turned towards the north; but I think it is an insertion.

23. In this light are the remains—clearly an insertion—of the upper half of the body of a royal person, crowned, holding a sword in the left hand, but having no nimbus. The face is of the fifteenth century. The lower part of the body is a mass of fragments. The pedestal is lost, but its indent remains, and just above it are two naked feet and some drapery, the attitude shows that the figure to which they belonged—probably that of an apostle—was turned towards the north. There is no doubt but that this fragment is part of an original figure.

24. This light also contains the upper half of a male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding a sceptre in the left hand, but having no nimbus, turned towards the south, and on the same scale as No. 21, and clearly an insertion. The pedestal remains, and one naked foot and some original drapery rest upon it. From the position of the foot and drapery, it is evident that the figure to which they belonged—probably that of an apostle—was turned towards the north. There is no doubt but that this fragment is part of an original figure.

25. A female figure, with a blue nimbus, having a wreath of red roses on her head, and a book in her right hand. This figure is turned towards the south. It is perhaps the best drawn of the series.—St. Cecily.

26. A male figure, turned towards the north. In a plate scull-cap and hauberk of mail, over which is a white cyclas bearing a red cross, and lined with green. On the hands are gauntlets of plate. The legs are in plate. The spurs are rowelled. The figure holds a spear in the right hand, without a penon. The left hand rests on the sword handle. A dagger is placed on the right side, and a shield, white with a red cross, hangs partly over the left side and arm, suspended from the neck by a strap. No nimbus.²—St. George.

27. A female figure, having a blue nimbus, and holding a book in her right hand. The figure, which is much mutilated, is turned towards the south.

28. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding two arrows in the left hand, and turned towards the north. No nimbus. The figure stands on a piece of green turf overlying the pedestal.—St. Canute (?).

29. A female figure, as may be concluded from some tresses of hair which lie on the shoulders. The face is lost. The figure, which has a blue nimbus, and is turned towards the south, is treading upon a dragon, and presses down a spear, which enters its mouth, and goes out at its neck.—St. Margaret.

30. A male figure, with a red nimbus, tonsured, in mass vestments, turned towards the north, and holding a gridiron painted black.—St. Lawrence.

31. A female figure, crowned, holding a sword in the right hand, and a book in the left, turned towards the south. No nimbus.—St. Catherine (?).

² We have seen that St. Thomas is also represented without a nimbus. It was not uncommon to omit the nimbus from St. George. Such a figure occurs

in a window at Aldwinckle St. Peter's, Northamptonshire, with the name of the saint, however, written underneath. This glass is of the time of Ed. II.

32. A male figure, with a blue nimbus, clad in a short white drapery, fringed all round, and reaching to the calf of the leg. The legs and feet are naked. The right hand is lost, the left remains; it did once support some object (such as an *agnus Dei*), now lost. The figure, which is turned towards the north, stands on a piece of green turf overlying the pedestal.—St. John the Baptist(?).

33. The head of this figure is gone, and the whole body is shattered to pieces. It has a red nimbus. Amongst the fragments are a left-hand glove, holding what may have been a pastoral staff, and a right-hand glove raised in benediction, as well as one foot, shod. From the position of the hand holding the staff, I conclude that the figure was turned towards the south.

34. This figure is also a mass of fragments. It has a blue nimbus. The head is lost. Amongst the fragments are a left hand holding a sword, and a right (neither is gloved) playing with the belt or girdle of the figure. From the position of the hands, especially of the right, I conclude that the figure was turned towards the north. The probability is that this and the former figure are original.

35. Apparently a male figure. The head is lost; it has a red nimbus. The left hand is placed on the breast, the right supports a thick knotted staff or club, coloured green. It is turned towards the south, and appears to be an original figure.

36. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding a sceptre in the left hand, and turned towards the north. The lower half of this figure is made up of fragments. No nimbus. It appears to be an original figure.

37. The head of a male figure, wearing a patriarchal hat, coloured pink, in the front of which has been inserted a small square piece of white glass, of the fifteenth century, representing a head of Christ, with part of the nimbus. The figure is a mere mass of fragments, and is a good deal shorter than the original figures of this tier. From its looking towards the north, it cannot be *in situ*, and owing to the large scale of the head, I think it did not belong to this window. It has no nimbus.

38. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes; no nimbus. The whole, except a small portion of the upper part of the body, and the feet, is made up of fragments. The figure was turned towards the north, but, on account of its large scale, I think it is not an original figure.

39. A male figure in mass vestments, tonsured, holding a pastoral staff in the left hand, and turned towards the south. None of the figures in this tier of lights has a nimbus.

40. A male figure, mitred, in mass vestments, the right hand in benediction, the left holding a pastoral staff. The lower half of the figure is much mutilated. It is turned towards the north.

41. A male figure, in mass vestments, tonsured, holding a pastoral staff in the right hand, and a book in the left. The figure is turned towards the south.

42. A male figure, mitred, in mass vestments, the right hand in benediction, the left holding a pastoral staff. The figure is turned towards the north.

43. A male figure, the head is of the fifteenth century, and it is impossible to determine whether the original head was mitred. The figure is very much mutilated. The fragments show that the remains are those

of a figure turned towards the south, supporting a pastoral staff with the right hand, and holding a book in the left.

44. This figure is a mass of fragments. The head is lost. The indent is clearly that of a tonsured head, not mitred; but as none of the original background remains, it is impossible to be certain of the originality of the indent. Part of the collar of a cope, crossed with a staff, as of a pastoral staff, remains, from which it appears that the figure was turned towards the north. The probability, therefore, is in favour of its being an original figure. The head of the pastoral staff, and the hand introduced as supporting it, are of the fifteenth century.

45. A male figure crowned, in royal robes, holding a sceptre in the right hand, and a mound surmounted with a very lofty cross in the left. Very little of the original drapery below the waist remains. The space from the feet to the knees is constructed of fragments. The figure is turned towards the south. It is of the same scale as the original figures of this tier, and I have no reason to suspect its not being one of them.

46. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding three arrows in its left hand, and turned towards the south. The hands, face, and hair of this figure are coloured pink, the hair being of a deeper tint than the countenance. As this figure is half a head taller than any of those in this tier, it cannot belong to it; nor does its size admit of its having belonged to the window.

47. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, the right hand points to a sceptre held in the left. Part of the white robe is made of spoiled or imperfect ruby glass. The feet remain, but all above, to the middle of the figure, is a mass of fragments. The figure is turned towards the south. It is of the same scale as the last, and I think it does not belong to this window.

48. The upper half of this figure is made up of fragments. The face is lost, but there is a crown over it, and a right hand holding a spear. The lower part of the figure is that of an ecclesiastic in mass vestments, with a book in the right hand, and a pastoral staff in the left. The position of the hands shows that this figure was turned towards the north; from which I conclude that it was an original figure. I should add that the scale of the remains of the upper figure might entitle it to be considered one of the original figures of the window displaced.

49. A male figure, mitred, in mass vestments, the right hand in benediction, the left holding a pastoral staff. The figure is turned towards the south. It is much shattered.

50. A male figure, in mass vestments, tonsured, holding a pastoral staff in the right hand, and a book in the left. The figure is turned towards the north. In the amice is inserted a piece of blue glass, round like a jewel, which seems original.

51. This figure is a mere mass of fragments, amongst which may be seen a mitre, turned towards the south, and a right hand, gloved, holding a staff, probably a pastoral staff. I believe that this, as well as the last, is made up of the remains of original figures.

52. This figure is so completely destroyed that the fragments of which it is composed afford no indication of what it may have been.

(To be continued.)

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL AND MONASTERY AT WORCESTER.¹

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PART II.—THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS.

THE only documentary assistance for determining the plan and arrangement of the monastic offices is to be found in one of Dr. Hopkins' extracts from the cathedral documents (*vide* Appendix), which is evidently a concise abstract of part of the contents of the original assignment and distribution of the buildings to the several members of the newly-constituted body—the dean, prebendaries, minor canons, and other ministers of the new foundation—to provide them with convenient houses and dwelling-places in respective parts of the buildings and grounds of the suppressed establishment.² This document possibly still exists amongst the cathedral archives at Worcester, but I will here insert Dr. Hopkins' memorandum verbatim.

“ The Dean hath the Priors House,
First Prebendary, y^o Sacrists,
2^d : the Tumbary,
3 : the Subpriors,
4th Hospitalarius,
5th Infirmarius,
6th Pittensarius & p^t of y^o Cellarer,
7th : Coquinarius,
8th—9th : M^r Capellæ,
10th Eleemosynary & part of the Priors.”

As the sites of these houses are all known, as well as

¹ Continued from page 132, *ante*.

² In Bentham's *Ely*, Supplement, p. 58, one of these assignments made by the

commissioners of King Henry VIII. at the time of the suppression of the monastery at Ely, is given at length.

their respective appropriations to the numbered stalls, we obtain from this memorandum a first approximation to the distribution of the monastic offices. The site primarily assigned to one of these stalls was, as we have seen above (p. 42), shifted to a more convenient position, and the other residences that were not removed were, in course of time, for the most part rebuilt, so that the whole finally appeared, about twenty years ago, in the form of a group of ordinary houses with gardens, many of them, however, retaining in their walls and cellars fragments of their mediæval originals.

The greater monastic buildings were probably very little disturbed until the Rebellion, when, as the subjoined document³ shows, the roof timbers and lead were stripped from *the great spire, the east transept with the lead pinnacle, the vestries or south chapels of the choir, the chapter house, dormitory and cloister*, as well as from other buildings, as the dean's hall, the house of the third stall, the gate-house, &c. The conduit was also destroyed.

During the last twenty years, however, changes have been made in the prebendal houses which, however conducive to the comfort and health of the inhabitants of the college, and to the improvement of its general appearance as a group of modern residences, have effectually swept away many a relic of ancient arrangements and domestic architecture. For it will be seen from the following descriptions,⁴ that every especial characteristic of the Benedictine monastery has vanished from Worcester, excepting the refectory, the fragments of dormitory walls, and some vaults attached to them.

³ In Mr. Drattington's MSS., vol. viii. p. 405, now in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, is a transcript of a chapter document, headed, "Nov. 6, 1660. Damages done to the Cathedral Church of Worcester (as is supposed) by the Late Powers" (from H. Clifton, Esq., Reg., Sept., 1829). This is a schedule of lead, timber, &c., taken from the church and buildings during the Commonwealth, and, as the date shows, was drawn up very soon after the Restoration, which dates May 29, 1660. This schedule, which it is unnecessary to transcribe at length, begins, "The Lead taken off the great Spire 60 Foth^r wth at 20 li. y^e fother (all charges accounted) comes to 1200. It. Timber 800 Tunnes at 26 s. p. Tun

and work in the sayd spire 600 li. (comes to) 1640. It. Lead taken off the Roof at the East Cross & the Lead Pinnacle 85 fother at the rate aforesaid (comes to) 1700. It. Timber 20 Tun. 26 li. Carpenters & Sawyers work 30 li. (comes to) 50." Similar particulars follow of lead and timber taken from the vestry, chapter-house, cloyster, Mr. Boughton's house (Stephen B. 3rd stall) (namely, the house at the west end of the Refectory, W.), lead from the Deane's Hall, lead and timber from the Dormitorie, the Gate House, and Queen's Chamber; the conduit pypes 2140 yards and pipes to offices. The Conduit Houses clean pulled down and the lead cistern. The total estimate is 8204l.

The cloister and chapter house, and the close gateways, are features common to all capitular and monastic bodies, and are here maintained in substantial repair. But the crumbling nature of the material of which all the monastic offices here were built, has so effectually destroyed their remains, that we look in vain for the picturesque fragments and walls that embellish Canterbury, Rochester, Ely, Peterborough, and many other monastic sites, in the districts where a more enduring stone has been employed.

The later changes to which I have alluded are due to the operations of cathedral reform, and must be examined and recorded to enable us to preserve the evidence for the position of the destroyed remains.

Amongst other results of the Church and Cathedral Commissions of Enquiry, &c., which commenced in 1835, was the reduction of the number of canonries in this cathedral, and in most others, to four. This reduction was brought about, by not filling up stalls as they became vacant, until the desired limit had been attained. The separate estates of the dean and canons and other officers were transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the incomes of future deans and canons were limited to a fixed sum paid to them by the same Commission.

The effect of these measures upon the buildings was to vacate in succession six of the ten old prebendal residence-houses. It was also agreed that as the deanery buildings were decayed and inconvenient, the dean should be transferred to the ancient episcopal palace on the north-west side of the cathedral.

An opportunity was thus given for improving the college, and relieving its crowded condition, by pulling down the deanery and the smaller or worse-placed prebendal houses, and assigning the space so set at liberty to the enlargement of the gardens of the remaining houses, or to widening and improving the roadways and open spaces around the cathedral.⁴

In the annexed plan of the college buildings I have inserted the sites of the destroyed prebendal houses, whether they contained ancient remains or no, and have numbered

⁴ The same course has been pursued in other cathedrals for the same reasons, as at Canterbury, Ely, Norwich, &c.

them in respect to the stalls to which they were respectively assigned.

Of these houses Mr. Perkins informs me that No. 4 (the location of the hospitalarius) was pulled down in 1841. No. 8 in 1843. The deanery (or ancient priory), and Nos. 6 and 7 (the places of the pittensarius, cellerer, and coquinarius), in 1845. No. 5 (on the site of the infirmary), in 1851; and finally, the guesten hall, in 1862.

Their sites were cleared and laid bare, and all the portions of ancient walls or other remains which they probably contained, and which might have assisted in elucidating the minor arrangements of the monastery, have passed out of the memory of man, with the exception of the remains of the priory. Happily Mr. Perkins made sketches of the deanery which occupied its site, before it was demolished, and has most kindly submitted them to me.

The houses that have been retained are those that occupy the places of the tumbarius, or shrinekeeper, No. 2; of the subprior, No. 3; of the magister capellæ, No. 9; and of the eleemosynarius, No. 10. The original prebendaries of the first stall were placed in the sacrist's lodging (at 12 on the plan), as I have mentioned in the first part of this history. The house marked No. 1 in this plan was built soon after 1712 for the stall, and is one of those which has been retained.

At Worcester the monastery is on the south and west sides of the church, the episcopal residence on the north. The bank of the Severn is within 150 feet of the west end of the cathedral, which is however placed on ground considerably elevated above the level of the water. The entrance gateway (41) of the monastery is on the east side of its precinct. This gateway is now known by the name of Edgar's Tower, but is in the older documents termed the College gatehouse.

There is a great, but hitherto I believe unnoticed, resemblance between the arrangements of this monastery and that of Durham, which, like Worcester, stands on the east bank of a river, has its dormitory on the west side of the cloister, its infirmary at the river side, its outer court or college yard on the south of the cloister, and its entrance gate on the east of it. This coincidence in general plan is the more valuable because the copious explanations of the

arrangements of the Durham monastery in the well-known "Rites of Durham,"⁵ thus often become extremely useful in elucidating the corresponding parts of Worcester.

I will now proceed to describe the remains of the buildings about the cathedral in succession, premising that I have no intention of writing a complete account of such a monastery as Worcester might have been; on the contrary, I shall confine myself to showing what information concerning this or that department of monastic life may be derived from the accidental preservation of traces or remains of the buildings appropriated to it at Worcester. A course which I have habitually followed at the annual meetings of the Institute.

But there are several points of interest with respect to demolished buildings on the north side of the cathedral that may be first mentioned, and which are shown on the annexed plan.

Beginning at the west end, the south extremity of the grounds of the EPISCOPAL PALACE are seen, the palace itself lying out of the bounds of the page. This, which I have not had leisure to examine in detail, retains many portions of Early English and later work; and there is a large hall, with an Early Decorated window at the west end, and beneath is a vaulted apartment with a similar window. The curve of the arched ribs of the vaults is of the peculiar triangular form at the upper part which characterises those of the central vault of the nave. There are also several windows in another part of the ground floor, with plate tracery, and other remains which well deserve study. The house itself has undergone so many changes to adapt it to modern purposes, that its original disposition is lost.

Near the north-west end of the church, Bishop "Willelmus de Bleys," or Blois, constructed a chapel of elegant workmanship, between the great church and the bishop's

⁵ The well-known Rites of Durham, and Durham Household Book, published by the Surtees Society, give some extremely curious information in relation to the actual economy of monastic life. The first is a record in English of the rites and ceremonies of this particular monastery before the suppression, written in 1598, probably by one of the members of the dissolved house. It is not a systematic or complete account, is very copious on many points, and omits many

others; but the peculiar and unique nature of the information it does furnish renders it of the highest value for the elucidation of monastic buildings considered with respect to their purpose. The Durham Household Book, which is the Bursar's account book, from 1530 to 1534, is for my present purpose also useful for giving the Latin names of the men and things which in the Rites are described in provincial English.

hall, having under it a sufficient crypt, in which he ordered the bones of many of the faithful to be deposited; whence the whole chapel is commonly called "*carnaria*," that is to say, the CHARNEL CHAPEL.⁶

This chapel was dedicated to the Virgin and St. Thomas, and endowed with four chaplains by Bishop Cantilupe. One of them was to be the *magister*. They were to eat together, to sleep under one roof, and to have one servant. Their number was increased to six priests by Bishop Giffard.⁷ In Cantilupe's charter the *hospitium*, or dwelling-house of the chaplains, is mentioned, which, in a deed in 1578, is described as the house and priests' chamber at the *west end* of the chapel.

It was granted to the dean and chapter by Henry the Eighth, and in 1636 the chapel was prepared and fitted as a school for the scholars of the city, but, being damp and unwholesome, the school sometime after 1641 was removed to the refectory, and the chapel allowed to go to ruin. In 1677 a new house was built on the site of the old *hospitium*, (12) and the walls of the chapel taken down to the window-sills, so as to form garden walls. The house and the garden walls have since been cleared away, but the crypt (11) has remained with its contents to the present time, although inaccessible. Green⁸ states it to be 58 ft. long, 22 ft. broad, and 14 ft. high, and to contain a vast quantity of bones.

It is a great regret that the buildings of this little establishment, a complete college in itself, should have been allowed to go to ruin in the seventeenth century.

The SACRIST'S LODGING (13) on the north side of the choir, with a stone preaching-cross opposite to it on the north, has been already described in my first part (pp. 40—42).

The CLOCHERIUM (14), a detached octagonal campanile, was of stone, 60 feet high, surmounted by a wooden spire covered with lead—in all, 210 feet high from the ground. It stood to the north of the north-east transept; so near to

* "Cum bone memorie Willelmus de Bleya, &c. . . quandam capellam apud Wigorn. inter majorem ecclesiam et aulam episcopi opere construi fecerit eleganti, et sub eadem cryptum competentem in qua multorum ossa recondi fidelium constituit defunctorum, in qua quidem tota capella predicta *Carnaria* vulgariter nuncupatur."—Carta Walteri de Cantilupo de capella Carnaria, A.D. 1265, ap. Thomas

App. No. 43.

⁷ "Simul comedant, et in una domo simul dormiant."—Carta Walteri. "Omnes vivere communiter, sub uno tecto dormire, et ad refectionem dormitionemque horis competentibus convenire."—Nova ordinatio, 1287. (Thomas, App. Nos. 43 and 61).

⁸ Page 56.

it that there was only space between for processions. The diameter of its base was 61 feet. These and other particulars are preserved in Dr. Hopkins' and Mr. Tomkins' notes.⁹ The leaden steeple was taken down and sold in 1647. The stone basement, however, appears to have remained longer, as it is shown standing in one storey in a drawing executed about 1670. The whole structure is exhibited entire in Hollar's View of the Cathedral, 1672, given in the third volume of Dugdale's Monasticon. It appears wholly destitute of architectural ornament or beauty—probably because the decay of the stonework had reduced the surface and destroyed the angles and details of the masonry.

The parish church of St. Michael (16) was annexed to the *clocherium*, the east wall of the latter having been used as the west wall of the former. This church was rebuilt on a different site in 1842.¹

We may now pass to the monastic buildings, beginning with the cloister.

THE CLOISTER.

The cloister itself is a somewhat irregular square of seven bays or severeys on each side, exclusive of the four angular severeys.²

Its outer walls are substantially Norman, but the architecture of the arcades and vaults is wholly of the fourteenth century, belonging to the period of Bishop Wakefield, when the nave of the church and so many other works were carried on. In Dr. Hopkins' Notes we find "The Refectory and Cloyster *built* 1372," which merely indicates that the works of these two were in progress at that date.

It must be conjectured that the Norman cloister had a wooden roof resting on an arcaded stone wall, toward the central garth, as is the case now at Durham and Bristol and in other examples.

The vaults of the present one are complex rib vaults, of an ordinary pattern, each compartment having in addition

⁹ Vide Appendix.

¹ Its external appearance is shown in one of Storer's engravings.

² The length of the eastern wall is 125 ft., and of the other three 120 ft.

The cloister garth about 83 ft. square. Durham cloister is 145 ft. square. Salisbury and Norwich about 180 ft. Canterbury, 132 ft.

to the transverse and diagonal ribs, one intermediate rib between each of the former, which crosses the ridge rib and proceeds to meet upon the diagonal rib the intermediate rib from the neighbouring angle. Knots of foliage or devices cover the intersections of the ribs. The arcades towards the central space were filled with tracery glazed as windows, but the glass having been destroyed in the Civil Wars, and the tracery much damaged, it was wholly removed in 1762, and the present miserable substitutes inserted.

Each archway is closed by a wall pierced by a window which has mullions and tracery in heavy stonework of a bad pattern, destitute of foliation, and unglazed. The whole effect of the cloister, which was in itself a very good specimen of architecture, is completely marred by the contrast of these clumsy insertions with the elegant traceried panelwork which adorns the jambs and soffits of the arches they encumber. In these arches, in some one of the walks of the cloister, must have been placed the carrels or studies of the monks, of which traces are seen in many of our cloisters, and which are explained in the "Durham Rites."³ There the north side of the cloister was thus fitted up. Each window was of three lights and glazed, and in every window three "*Pewes* or *Carrels*, where every one of the old Monks had his carrell severale by himselfe, that when they had dynded they dyd resorte to that place of cloister and there studyed upon there books, every one in his carrell all the afternonne unto evensong tyme.—All these carrells was all fynely wainscotted and verie close, all but the forepart which had carved wourke that gave light in at ther carrell doures of wainscott. And in every carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on. And the carrell was no greater than from one stanchell of the wyndowe to another. And over against the carrells against the church wall did stande certaine great almeries (or cupbords) of waynscott all full of Books."

The piers which separate each arch of the Worcester cloister from its neighbours are pierced by an opening like a small archway, or rather *ambrey* without a back, about three feet from the ground, and the angle pier is also pierced at the same level with two openings crossing each other, so that an eye placed at one of these angle piers can look at a glance

³ Rites, p. 70.

through the whole series of openings in that walk of the cloister. It is not easy to perceive what useful purpose could have been served by these. Perhaps wooden ambreys were fitted into them for the use of the students in the carrells next to them. But they occur all round the cloister, and a similar opening is even made in a pier which separates the two arches of the monks' lavatory in the western walk of the cloister. No traces remain to explain the actual use of these openings, which I am inclined to regard as an architectural device to lighten the piers in question.⁵

There is a peculiar arrangement of one portion of this cloister which is worth remarking. The north-east corner compartment of vaulting is separated from the next compartment to the south by a broad band of tracery panels forming a transverse rib (vide plan at 27, where the band is indicated by two parallel lines). A similar separation is introduced between the south-east corner vault and that which lies to the north of it (30). Thus the seven compartments of vaulting that belong to the east side of the cloister are cut off from the angle compartments at each end, by this broad rib of tracery, which occurs at no other part of the cloister in this manner. A broad strip of tracery panels of the same kind, however, ornaments the soffit of every arch of the cloister arcade, on the inner side of the windows.

In the cloister of Gloucester, begun in 1360, transverse bands of the same style and nearly the same pattern are used to separate each corner severey of the cloister vaults from the two neighbouring ones,⁶ so that on the whole, eight of these bands are in Gloucester cloister and only two in Worcester. The peculiarity of Worcester is that these transverse bands are only employed in the east walk, as if that side had been commenced in imitation of Gloucester, and that when the other sides of the cloister were proceeded with, the plan had been changed and the panelled bands omitted. The panelled bands at Worcester have this peculiar significance, that the

⁵ Mr. Abingdon described the glass of the windows before its destruction (vide Thomas, p. 26). The east, north, and west panes of the cloister had heraldic glass with inscriptions to the memory of the donors. The latter pane had also in its glass memorial inscriptions to the ancient founders and benefactors of the monastery. The windows of the south

cloister contained miracles of St. Wolstan with explanatory inscriptions. One of the north windows, glazed by Prior Fordham (1423 to 1438), supplies the date for glazing.

⁶ Hereford cloister has similar bands at the only remaining angle, and the west cloister of Ely starts from the wall of the cathedral with one.

arches they ornament are similar to the panelled arches of the cloister arcade, and therefore the two transverse arches that cross the eastern walk continue the series of panelled arches from the north and south walks up to the east wall of the cloister with good architectural effect. This will be seen in the plan.

The transverse panelled arches serve this good purpose, that they get rid of the extremely narrow window which occurs at the angle in those walks of the cloister in which these transverse arches are omitted. This may also be seen in my plan.

Now as the east walk of the cloister is 125 feet long, and the other three only 120 feet, it follows that if these panelled ribs had been employed at each angle, as at Gloucester, each severey of vaulting in the shorter walks would have been narrower than those of the east side by one twenty-fourth part. It might be supposed therefore that the panelled arches were introduced into the longer walk to enable the severeys to be made of the same width throughout the cloister, which is very nearly the case. The difference however appears too small to be appreciable.

Another remarkable irregularity of workmanship is observable in the east cloister. The door-way of the chapter house substituted for the original Norman door, when the present cloister was built, is naturally set in the middle of the severey of vaulting in which it occurs (the sixth from the north), being a handsome piece of work leading to a principal room of the monastery. But the centre of this severey does not coincide with the centre of the severey of the chapter house by 1 foot 9 inches, and therefore the entrance-door of the latter, seen from within, is most offensively out of symmetry. The Norman door of the chapter house, of which the arch head is still to be seen in the interior, on the wall above the intruded door-way in question, was placed exactly in the middle of its own severey.⁷

Three passages lead outwards from the cloister walks, all vaulted and all Norman. One (31) from the south end of

⁷ It happens that if the transverse arches had been omitted, and the severeys of the east walk set out at equal breadth throughout, the centre of the severey in which the chapter-house door

occurs, would have coincided with that of the chapter house so nearly, that no offence against symmetry would have occurred.

the east walk southward, is the entrance to the cloister from the outer court of the monastery, and has a plain groined Norman vault and a rich Norman arch of entrance (37) at its south end, facing the court. Its opening to the cloister at its north end, is by a plain doorway, and at this, probably, the porter was stationed, as at Durham,⁸ to prevent strangers or others from troubling the novices or monks in the cloister.

A second passage (26) from the west end of the north walk, directed westward, was the way from the cloister to the infirmary.⁹ The Norman staircase from the dormitory opened into this passage, as we shall presently show. The architecture of the passage is the same as that of the west end of the cathedral, and has been already described in illustration of that portion of the church. (See p. 94, *ante*.) It is vaulted in four compartments of ribbed vaulting.

The third passage (28, 29) in contiguity with the gable wall of the south transept, leads eastwards from the east walk of the cloister to the space lying south-east of the cathedral. This passage has an Early plain groined Norman vault without transverse ribs, and its walls are ornamented by two semicircular plain arches on each side above a stone bench. Each arch inclosing an arcade of three smaller ones, with molded edges resting on shafts.

When the treasury was built in the fifteenth century above this passage, its eastern extremity (29) was altered so as to terminate the passage outwards at its east end by two pointed arches. The larger one, on the north, gives direct access to the open space or monks' cemetery, the smaller one leads to a narrow passage which turns obliquely to the south-east and opened into the priory buildings, so as to give the prior a covered access to the cloister, and thus also to the church and monastic offices.

In monastic churches, the cemetery of the monks was usually placed on the south and east sides of the church, and doubtless that was the case in the cathedral of Worcester. A covered passage like the above existed at Durham, and its purpose is described in the "Rites of Durham" in a manner which is manifestly applicable, not only to the one we are

⁸ Durham Rites, pp. 67, 72.

⁹ In the old time there was no passage round the west end of the cathe-

dral southwards, as now. The present thoroughfare was first laid open in 1750.

now considering, but to various other examples of the same in monastic churches.

The passage itself is in that document said to be "the PARLER, a place for marchaunts to utter ther waires, standing betwixt the chapter house and the church dour."—P. 44.

It was therefore one of those locutories or places in which the monks were permitted to converse or hold intercourse with strangers, of which there were several in each monastery, appropriated, one to the reception of guests, another for the mutual conversation of the monks with each other, another to the transaction of business with strangers, as in the case we are considering, and so on.¹

But this particular *Locutorium* or *Parlatorium* was also employed as a passage through which the bodies of the deceased monks were conveyed to the cemetery beyond for burial.

Any monk attacked by sickness was first removed to the infirmary, and after death his body was conveyed to the "Dead Mane's chamber in the said Farmery," and at night was placed in the infirmary chapel. At eight o'clock in the following morning it was conveyed to the chapter house, "where the Prior and hole Convent did meat hime, and there did say there dirges and devotion. . . . And after there devocion the dead corpes was caryed by the monnckes from the Chapter house thorough the parler . . . standing betwixt the Chapter house and the Church dour, and so throwghe the said parler in the Sentuarie garth² where he was buried."—P. 44.

The buildings that are in contact with the cloister are the nave of the church on its north side, and the south transept, treasury, and chapter house on its east side. The refectory occupies the whole of the south side. The lavatory and the dormitory the west side. The remains of these buildings with their appendages we will now examine.

The TREASURY of the cathedral is a series of vaulted rooms which were constructed over the Norman passage (28, 29) in 1377 (vide Hopkins' Notes), and partly supported by the piers added as already mentioned at the east end of it at

¹ For example, there was one at Winchester, where it was called the Slype, and one at Ely.

² The term *sentuarie*, or rather *ceme-*

tery garth, is applied in the Rites of Durham to the monks' cemetery at the south side of the quire (vide p. 51).

the same time. It also extends over the triangular compartment which is included between the east end of the passage and the chapter house. This now contains a modern staircase to the treasury rooms. The original access was from the south-west corner of the vestries (E) by a staircase which is defended by singular openings in its vault after the manner of machicolations. I have described this building at length, with detailed plans, in "The Transactions of the Institute of British Architects," for the present year, to which I beg to refer.³

THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

The Chapter House is in many respects one of the most interesting structures about the cathedral. Originally a circular Norman edifice, it was erected complete and vaulted with a light tufa, the vault resting on a central pillar from which ten semicircular ribs radiate to the walls, where they are received upon as many vaulting shafts, which divided the outer wall into ten compartments. Each compartment was lighted by a single round-headed Norman window, the traces of one of which, which I discovered in the chambers of the adjacent treasury, enabled me to ascertain the exact position and magnitude of these lights.

Below the windows the wall is ornamented with a rich intersecting Norman arcade, beneath which is a range of shallow niches resting on a continuous stone bench. The latter has been unfortunately cut away all round to make room for

³ The treasury is described by King in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. iv. p. 157. He calls it *the Monks' Prison*, and explains the arrangements on that hypothesis. He states that the "ascent from the south isle was secured, not only by a strong door at bottom with cavities remaining in the side walls for an exceeding strong bar," but also by several machicolations the whole way over head. From this sort of fortified appearance a tale has taken rise, and is commonly told by the guides of its being the apartment where "Oliver Cromwell resided during his stay at Worcester."

He does not appear to have found his way into the west chambers of the treasury. In the north wall of the great room, on the left-hand side of the narrow staircase door, is a square recess, like an ambrey formed in the wall. At the back

of this a square hollow pipe, about six inches diameter, proceeds slanting downwards through the thickness of the wall, which formerly, as King says, "within the remembrance of several persons still living, had its lower end opening quite through the wall (of the south cross isle) in a sort of loop." It was stopped up, as he relates, by the monument of Bishop Maddocks being fixed exactly against it. He rightly conjectures it to have been what he terms "*a Spying Pipe*," in modern language, a *hagioscope*, to enable his "prisoner" to witness the mass. Of the narrow doorway near it he absurdly remarks, that "It would be allowing an idea much too ridiculous to apprehend that this doorway was designed as a *gauche* for any fat, gormandizing, gluttonous monk, who might be confined here till he should be able to pass through it."

the bookcases with which the walls were lined, but which were removed immediately after the visit of the Institute. The niches and the whole arrangement is exactly similar to those of the Norman chapter house at Bristol. The intersecting arcade is the same in general design as that which forms a continuous belt of decoration round the external wall of Ernulf's Crypt, at Canterbury (vide my *Arch. Hist. of Canterbury*, p. 87). It also occurs in the interior wall of the chapter house at Rochester, the recorded work of the same Ernulf, and in other examples.

The vaults of the chapter house are groined, but as ribs were substituted for plain groins in Norman work, about the beginning of the twelfth century, we are justified in assigning the commencement of the chapter house to the end of the eleventh century.

The scraping of the walls obligingly performed at my request, under the direction of Mr. Perkins, developed the curious fact that the Norman decoration is built with stones of two colors, as in the transepts already described. Externally the chapter house as originally completed appeared as a cylindrical building with shallow Norman buttresses, one of which may be seen in the small chamber on the north-west, which now contains the staircase to the treasury chamber. Another buttress remains in the passage which once led from the cloister to the priory buildings.

The treasury, built between the chapter house and the south transept gable, in 1377, in contact with both, has preserved these traces of the outer work of the chapter house, but the remainder of its exterior was transformed, about the year 1400, into the semblance of an Early Perpendicular decagonal building with deep thin buttresses at the angles, surmounted with pinnacles and having rich tracery windows.

The exact nature of this transformation, which I succeeded in completely investigating, cannot well be explained without plans and drawings, for which I beg to refer to my paper already mentioned.

It is however a most instructive example of the methods pursued by mediæval architects in their restorations. It was not the result of a wanton desire to bring the old building into harmony with the fashion of the time. On the contrary, the settlements of the Norman work, which I examined and measured with great care, show that the whole of the walls,

excepting the north part, which was connected with the treasury, had been pushed outward by the vault to an extent which threatened the fall of the whole. In the repairs that followed, the external surface of the thick Norman wall was cut away and re-ashlared, reducing the thickness from 4 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft. 9 in., measured in the centre of each compartment. The surface was by this new casing changed from cylindrical to flat, and the weight of the walls, which overhung at the top was thus reduced, and by the new casing they were made vertical. The angles were provided with effective thin projecting buttresses instead of the flat Norman ones, practically useless.

In the interior the lower part of the walls with their rich Norman arcading was left unaltered. The vault cells, originally low and semicircular, were changed for high pointed vaults, effectively resolving the thrust of the whole vault upon the angles where the new buttresses were placed, and large traceried windows inserted instead of the small Norman lights.

The whole principle of the repair consisted in remedying the defective mechanical construction of the Norman masons, whose vault had pressed the walls outwards more or less all round. Nothing more was done than was absolutely necessary to introduce their improved constructive system, and thus to ensure the stability of the edifice. The Norman work was in the interior respected as far as possible, the central pillar and the semicircular ribs, with all the central portion of the vault, was carefully retained.

THE DORMITORY AND COMMON HOUSE.

The Dormitory is in the unusual position of extending lengthwise and westwards from the cloister wall towards the river. It was 120 feet long and 60 broad, and according to Dr. Hopkins' notes, was "supported by 5 large Stone Pillars."

The present remains are but scanty. It appears not to have been employed for any useful purpose from the time of the assignment of these buildings to the prebendaries at the Reformation, and at the Rebellion the Puritans unroofed it for the sake of the lead and timber, and left its walls standing. Since that time their materials have been employed as required for various building operations, until they have been reduced to the fragments that exist. These are, the whole length of the eastern wall, which is in fact part of the western

wall of the cloister. All that portion of the northern wall which is the south boundary of the Norman vaulted passage (26), already described as leading from the north-west angle of the cloister towards the infirmary. Lastly, a small fragment now about 36 feet in length (20), of the south wall, but which existed to more than double that length, until twelve or fifteen years since, when it was reduced to its present dimensions on the ground of its having become dangerous.

This last fragment is only about 15 feet at the highest point above the grass, it has on the inside surface Norman pilasters upon which rest the abutting portions or springing blocks of the compartments of a groined vault, the arch of which is four-centered. Between the pilasters is a window with Perpendicular tracery in the head, showing it to have consisted of two lights.

Mr. Perkins remembers the longer fragment of a wall which retained other windows of a similar character. At the western end of the remaining ruin there is a round-headed aperture in the wall from which a Norman archway appears to have been removed, and a thin wall containing a square-headed two-light Perpendicular window inserted.

These appearances agree perfectly with the few historical fragments that remain. They show that the original Norman dormitory was repaired in the fourteenth century by receiving a new vault and tracery windows, the Norman walls and pilasters of the original vault being retained. Accordingly, in 1302, the writer of the "*Annals of Worcester*"⁴ says: "On the second idus of July the fall of a great portion of our dormitory, which had long menaced ruin, made manifest our negligence." The dormitory is also mentioned in Dr. Hopkins' Notes as one of the works carried on in 1377.

Evidently it was the Norman vault that fell to ruin in 1302. It must be remembered that the windows and vault just mentioned are not those of the dormitory itself. The floor of this, like that of the neighbouring refectory, must have been raised upon a vaulted substructure which was occupied by various monastic offices, and the state of the high eastern and northern walls that remain shows this to have

⁴ "*Magna pars ruens in dormitorio nostro, quæ a multo tempore ruinam minabatur, nostram negligentiam manifestat.*"—P. 527.

Green writes that the dormitory was

begun in 1375, and in August, 1377, was furnished with beds. This is not now to be found in Dr. Hopkins' Notes or in Brown Willis' *Mitred Abbeys*, from which Green quotes in his margin.

been the case at Worcester, where the level of the floor of the dormitory was about 9 feet above that of the cloister. The ruin of this sub-vault was in fact the ruin of the floor as far as the dormitory was concerned.⁵

The width of the dormitory, 60 feet, makes it probable that it had a double roof sustained in the midst by a row of five pillars standing on the piers of the vaults below,⁶ thus far agreeing with Dr. Hopkins' Note.

I have already said that the south wall of the Norman passage, from the cloisters to the infirmary, was the north wall of the dormitory, and that there is also a chamber above this passage. The passage itself has three openings in the south wall now walled up, but which originally communicated with the sub-vaults of the dormitory. The first opening (25) near the west end of the passage is a plain round-headed Norman doorway, of which only the outer continuous molding is visible. This led into some apartments fitted up in the sub-vaults. The next opening, about the middle of the passage, appears to have been a kind of window to admit a borrowed light to the sub-vaults. It has a pointed arch and a plain continuous rebate on the pier and arch. Its sill is arised considerably above the pavement. The third opening (24) near the east end of the passage is a plain semicircular doorway.⁷

On the other side of the wall, the north wall, namely, of the dormitory, we find the last-mentioned doorway opening with a segmental-headed rear-arch into the sub-vaults, and also leading to a staircase in the thickness of the wall, only 2 ft. 3 in. wide, and therefore just sufficient for a single person to ascend, unless he had attained to the diameter popularly supposed to characterise a monk. Around this doorway the abutments of a semicircular vault of the substructure are seen on the surface of the wall, showing that in this part the

⁵ This may account for the long delay that took place before it was repaired. The floor could be temporarily supplied by boards and timberwork, and gradually replaced by masonry.

⁶ The piers of the vault have disappeared, but the spacing of the remaining pilasters of the vault show that the number of severies in the length was six, and therefore five piers were required.

⁷ The earth on the inside of the dor-

mitory is now about two feet below the level of this passage and of the cloister. This earth is considerably above the original floor of the substructure. But as the ground slopes very considerably towards the river, the low level of the floor did not prevent the sub-vaults from being perfectly drained and habitable. At the dotted line (21) Mr. Perkins tells me that the pavement suddenly changed its level, so as to increase the height of the apartments at the east end.

Norman vault had not been destroyed. The thickness of the wall (5 feet) is reduced by setting it back above this vault, at the level of the dormitory floor, and it still rises 12 or 14 feet higher than that level. The staircase just mentioned in the wall ascends to the west and was terminated on the level of the dormitory floor at a deeply recessed opening, but is now walled up.⁸ The head of a pointed arch is seen at the back of the opening. The staircase however must have opened southwards upon the dormitory floor. It was therefore the original Norman staircase from the dormitory to the cloister and thence to the church, agreeing in position with the dormitory staircase at Durham.⁹ The surface of the east wall of the dormitory, which is also the west wall of the cloister, has been subjected to so much patching and casing as to obliterate altogether the traces of the springings of the sub-vault excepting at the north corner, where, at the level of the dormitory floor, is the trace of a small pointed Norman doorway walled up, which led up to the cloister roof, and a little to the south of this a plain Norman arched recess, perhaps a window, before the present cloister was made, the head of which is about 6 feet above the dormitory floor, its jambs below are altered, and the whole appearance of this wall seems to show that some building had been erected against it subsequent to the Reformation, for the use of the adjacent prebendal house. There are two doors in this wall opening from the cloister, the northern (23) small, four-centered, and walled up; the next to it (22), which has a large handsome Late Perpendicular archway on the cloister side, is now contracted to a

⁸ In Britton's plan the staircase is shown to turn and rise to the north so as to lead to the apartments over the Norman passage. It was perhaps traceable at that time; but Green and Thomas and other old plans mark a door (23), now walled up, but which opened into the cloister from the sub-vaults near the north wall of the dormitory, as leading (by this staircase manifestly) to the old library over the Norman passage (26), which Green imagines to have been the spital, without any authority.

⁹ Many dormitories have also a direct staircase into the church for the nocturnal services, and this may have been the case at Worcester, for the monks may have passed through the room over the

Norman passage, and thence down the south-western turret into the church.

The clumsy piers and flying buttresses that now rest against the west part of the north wall of the dormitory are modern props, and the lower part of the wall has been so interfered with by repairs, that scarce a fragment of its old surface remains. The present north garden wall, which bounds the western part of the dormitory ground beyond the Norman passage, in a line considerably to the south of the high ancient wall above described, was built about ten years ago instead of a similar one which stood on the foundations of the old dormitory, in a line with the remaining part.

common square opening which serves to give entrance to the canon's garden.

The last-mentioned doorway in the cloisters is called the entrance to the dormitory in all the descriptions and plans of the cathedral. But the existence of a vaulted substructure sustaining this dormitory floor has never been taken into account. Perhaps the repairs and alterations of the dormitory in the fourteenth century, when this great doorway was made, included a more convenient staircase to the floor above than the narrow Norman one in the thickness of the wall. Thus this doorway may have led to the dormitory itself, as well as to the apartments and offices in the sub-vaults. For the various doors which I have described show that the sub-vaults were divided into rooms for different purposes, as in other monasteries.

The traceried windows (20) already described in the south wall of the sub-vaults show that some habitable room was fitted up there. This by comparison with Durham, and other examples, was the "Common House" or hall¹ which formed a part of every Benedictine monastery. "This house being," to use the quaint phraseology of the "Durham Rites" (pp. 75 & 84), "to this end, to have a fyre kept in yt all wynta for the Monnckes to cume and warme them at, being allowed no fyre but that only, except the Master and officers of the House, who had there several fyres." This room with traceried windows looking west to the water and fitted up in the sub-vaults of the dormitory, still remains at Durham. It is also shown in the plan of St. Gall, in the ninth century, beneath the dormitory.²

At Durham there also "was belonging to the Common-house a garden and a bowling allie, on the back side of the same house towards the water, for the recreation of the Moncks, (or for the Novyces sune tymes to recreat themselves, when they had remedy of there master,) he standinge by to see good order kept."

The green on the south side of these windows at Worcester may well have been employed in a similar manner.

¹ The common house of the monks corresponds to the Oxford common room and Cambridge combination room in its earlier form, when there were no chimneys in the chambers, and a common fire

was kept for the scholars to warm themselves.

² Vide my description of the Ancient plan of S. Gall; Arch. Journal, vol. v. p. 85. See also *Pisalis* in Ducange.

THE SEPULCHRAL REMAINS AND EFFIGIES IN THE CATHEDRAL
CHURCH OF WORCESTER.¹

By MATTHEW HOLBECH BLOXAM, F.A.S.

A BRIEF notice of the Sepulchral Remains discovered lately and heretofore within and near to the Cathedral of Worcester, as introductory to some account of the principal monuments it contains, may perhaps be considered not uninteresting.

Matthew Paris states that King John on his death-bed, in the castle at Newark, being asked by the Abbot of Croxton where he would be buried, exclaimed :—" *Deo et sancto Ulstano corpus et animam meam commendo* ;"—I commend my soul to God, my body to Saint Wolstan. The same writer proceeds to tell us of his burial :—" *Cujus corpus regio schemate ornatum ad Wigorniam delatum est, et in ecclesia Cathedrali ab Episcopo loci honorifice tumulatum* ;"—his body, attired in royal apparel, was conveyed to Worcester, and honorably buried in the cathedral church by the bishop of that place. Matthew Paris then informs us how the corruptible corpse was conveyed to such a distance :—" *Abbas igitur canonicorum Crokestoniæ peritissimus in medicinis, qui medicus regis tunc temporis extiterat, facta anatomia de corpore regio, ut honestius portaretur, viscera copioso sale conspersa in suâ domo transportata honorifice fecit sepeliri* :"—the Abbot of the canons of Croxton being well skilled in medicine, and at that time the physician of the king, anatomically opened the royal body that it might be the more readily conveyed, and, having sprinkled the bowels copiously with salt, caused them to be removed to his own abbey and there honorably buried. A somewhat similar mode of attempting to preserve the body from immediate corruption, by means of salt, is stated by Matthew Paris to have taken place previous to the burial of Henry I., who died in 1135.

¹ Read at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Worcester, July, 1862.

He relates that the bowels, brains, and eyes of the deceased monarch were taken out and inhumed at Rouen, the body was then cut and gashed, and sprinkled with salt, after which it was inclosed in bulls' hides; in that state it was brought to England, and buried at Reading Abbey. The body of Geoffry de Magnaville, who died at Chester in 1165, is also recorded to have been salted and wrapped in leather for burial.

On July 20, 1797, on the commencement of some repairs in the Cathedral, it was proposed to remove the tomb of King John, which occupied the same position as at the present time; a stone coffin was discovered at the bottom of the tomb, level with the pavement; this coffin was cut out of Higley stone, and only covered with two elm boards. On examining the coffin, it was found to contain the remains of the king; some portions of the royal apparel were firm in texture, but the color was gone; part of the sword and leathern sheath were lying on the left side, but much mouldered. The boots were more perfect. Part of one of the robes appeared to have been embroidered; the head was covered with a close-fitting skull-cap, which appeared to have been buckled under the chin. A quantity of a substance resembling white paste lay on and below the abdomen, which it was supposed had been poured into the body when the intestines were taken out; this was, I think, the salt of which Matthew Paris speaks, used for preserving the body. It is hardly to be doubted that the corpse of the king had been arrayed in apparel of the same description as that exhibited on his effigy, which originally formed the cover to the stone coffin. This effigy I shall hereafter attempt to describe.² The high tomb on which it is now placed was probably erected in the early part of the sixteenth century, after the burial of Prince Arthur; the body must then have been disclosed, and the crown and sceptre, if any existed (probably of base metal as were those found in the tomb of Edward I.), may have been removed.

On May 7, 1856, the workmen engaged on the repairs in the Cathedral, whilst excavating at the foot of the south-west

² A detailed account of the examination of the tomb in 1797, was published by Green, the historian of Worcester, in that year, in 4to, with a plate represent-

ing the coffin in which the royal corpse had been deposited. Stothard has given two beautiful plates of the effigy.

buttress of the south-east transept, discovered two stone coffins containing skeletons unusually perfect, and apparently in the exact position in which the bodies had been originally deposited. Both coffins contained the remains of men of large stature, the one measuring 6 feet 6 inches in height. The coffin first discovered was 5 feet below the surface, and 2 feet 9 inches from the base of the buttress, the lower end pointing about 4 degrees northward of east. It was roughly hewn out of a block of sandstone similar to that of which the ancient walls of the Cathedral are constructed, and with a recess or cavity, in the shape of a dove-tail, formed for the head. There was no cover to this coffin.³ It may have contained the remains of one of the bishops, and have been surmounted by one of the recumbent effigies now lying in the Cathedral. The other coffin, and apparently the most ancient, was of much ruder workmanship, being constructed of several small blocks roughly worked, with the cavity for the head formed in three pieces. This coffin had a covering of several rough stone slabs. The lower part was embedded in the masonry of the buttress. It contained a skeleton of larger stature than that previously described.

These coffins, with their contents, were carefully removed, and placed in the north-west corner of the crypt, where there is also another stone coffin, and there they now remain.

The most important discovery, however, remains to be noticed. In December, 1861, the workmen employed in removing a part of the wall on the north side of the choir, near the east end, discovered a stone coffin, a portion of which fell away, disclosing the remains of one of the bishops in his episcopal vestments. In consequence of a communication made to me by my friend Mr. Perkins, the architect of the cathedral, I went down to Worcester on January 1st, 1862, and by the kindness of the Dean I was afforded every facility in examining these remains. It was, however, a task under difficulties, as the coffin had not been removed, and was still to some extent embedded in the wall. Though now broken, this coffin appeared to have been of the shape preva-

³ This coffin measures 7 ft. long, 2 ft. 4 in. wide at the head, and 2 ft. wide at the lower end. The sides are 5 in. in thickness, and inside it is 11 in. deep; there is an orifice at the bottom, about the middle. There is another coffin in

the crypt, hewn out of a single block of stone, 7 ft. 2 in. long, 2 ft. in width at the top, diminishing to 14 in. in width at the foot, 13 in. deep inside, and the sides worked to 3½ in. in thickness, with a square recess for the head.

lent in the thirteenth century, formed with great care out of a single block, more elaborately hollowed and worked with greater finish than we usually find in objects of this kind. This coffin had, I think, been originally covered by one of the recumbent effigies now in the cathedral, and which I shall hereafter notice. The effigy had, however, been long removed, and replaced by three stones.

Like the remains of King John, this was not the first time that the interment had been disclosed. From the removal of the stones covering the upper and lower extremities of the coffin, the remains in those parts had been somewhat disturbed, the lower end being partly filled with rubbish. The skull of the bishop had fallen on the right side, and the vestments covering the upper part of the body appeared reduced to shreds, changed to a chocolate color. The vestments covering the middle of the body, being protected by the central stone, were undisturbed, and the outline and folds of the chasuble could be clearly traced. It was, however, difficult to obtain a correct view without the aid of a light, which was speedily procured for me by Mr. Perkins and placed in the coffin under the middle stone. The lower part of the coffin was to some extent cleared of the rubbish during my examination; but this had occasioned some disarrangement in the vestments, so that it was difficult to distinguish them with precision. The body had apparently been vested in the alb, tunic, dalmatic, chasuble, and stole, with the amice about the neck, the mitre on the head, and the maniple suspended from the left arm. Of the mitre, the lower portion, constituting a band round the forehead, was still apparent. A small silver-gilt ornament, not unlike a morse, appeared to have been attached to the chasuble in front of the breast: this I consider to have been the *pectorale* or *rationale*. The pastoral staff had doubtless been placed on the left side of the body, but neither crook nor ferule could be discovered. Some fragments, however, of ivory were found, which appeared to have been portions of the crook. The vestments were exceedingly rich, of gold tissue decorated with scrolls and other ornaments, such as figures of kings and birds, in that particular conventional style which prevailed during the middle of the thirteenth century. Neither the episcopal ring nor the chalice, both of which it was customary to bury with the corpse of a bishop, could be found. These

may have been taken away when these remains were previously disturbed and the effigy which covered them removed. But a silver-gilt paten in perfect preservation, measuring about $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, was found in the coffin. This paten has a quatrefoiled compartment slightly sunk, the intervening spandrels being filled with minutely-engraved foliage. In the centre is engraved a representation of a hand surrounded by a cross-nimb, and with two fingers upraised in the gesture of benediction. A paten similar to this, of silver-gilt, having engraved in the centre a hand in the act of benediction, was discovered in the stone coffin supposed to be that of Bishop Longespee in Salisbury Cathedral. A paten with a similar representation has been discovered in the grave of one of the prelates in York Cathedral.⁴ The remains recently discovered at Worcester may be compared with those of Henry of Worcester, abbot of Evesham, who died in 1263, and whose grave was there found in 1821 on the site of the nave of the abbey church; also with the remains of two bishops discovered in Chichester Cathedral in 1829, the body of each of whom was arrayed in the episcopal vestments. In one of these interments the paten, 6 inches in diameter, had a circular gold plate in the centre, on which was engraved, between a crescent and a star, a hand giving the benediction.

But to what bishop are we to ascribe the remains thus discovered at Worcester? I have no hesitation in stating my belief that they are those of Walter de Cantilupe, who presided over the see from 1236 to 1266. He was one of the great men of his time—one who took an active part in public affairs. A long account of him appears in a chronicle written perhaps within fifty years of his death, and entitled "*Chronicon Wigornienſe a Christo ad annum 1308.*"⁵ This narration has been published in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, and thence Dr. Thomas derived his account of this prelate. The chronicle informs us that, early in the year 1265-6 (*pridie idus Februarii*), the venerable Walter de Cantilupe Bishop of Worcester, of pious memory, died at his manor of Blockley and was buried with great pomp—"cum magno honore"—in his cathedral church, near the high altar.⁶

⁴ Figured in the *Historical Guide to York Cathedral*, by the Rev. G. A. Poole and Mr. Hugall, pl. xxvii.

⁵ Cott. MS. Calig., A. x.

⁶ *Annales Ecclesie Wigornienſis*; *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 496.

On comparing the dimensions of the stone coffin containing the remains of this bishop with those of the slab on which is sculptured the recumbent effigy of a bishop, that lying southernmost at the east end of the Lady Chapel, I find them so exactly to correspond that I have no hesitation in concluding that the effigy formed the original cover to the coffin.

The last of the sepulchral remains which I have to notice as brought to light in Worcester Cathedral, is a leaden coffin found about the same time as the remains of Bishop Cantilupe, within the rails at the east end of the choir. This coffin was moulded to the shape of the body, and it exhibited, to a certain degree, marks of the features and limbs, with a mask over the face, and the arms and legs visibly portrayed. The body had evidently been embalmed and wrapped in cere-cloth, and the leaden coffin had been incased in an outer chest of wood which had fallen into decay, but fragments were still apparent. The clamps of iron which appear to have fastened the wooden coffin, and the iron handles, were preserved, but they did not exhibit any distinctive marks of ornamentation. A small javelin head of the seventeenth century was found with or near these remains. The leaden coffin measured 6 feet 4 inches in length. It lay at no great depth, as the crown of the arch of the crypt beneath would prevent the formation of a deep grave. Though without any inscription to denote whose remains these were, there can be no doubt that this coffin contains the embalmed body of William Duke of Hamilton, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Worcester in 1651, and shortly after died in or near Worcester. His body was not allowed to be conveyed to the family burial-place at Hamilton in Scotland, but was here interred. The exact spot of his interment is not laid down in the plan of the Cathedral in Dr. Thomas' Survey in 1734, nor in that given in Britton's History, but, in the plan published in Green's History of Worcester, in 1795, his grave is indicated on the platform at the upper end of the choir, just within the rails. Green says that "In a space included between the distances of ten and thirteen feet from the north side wall of the altar, and one foot within its inclosure, the body of William Duke of Hamilton, slain at the battle of Worcester in 1651, lies interred." Green

gives as his authority a paper in the Chapter archives of Worcester, indorsed—"Where to find the severall Graves of those that lye buried within the Rayles at the altar, before it was paved by Mr. William Thorneburrie, the then Treasurer of the Colledge of Worcester."⁷

Bishop Burnet, in his memoir of James and William Dukes of Hamilton, published in 1677, observes of this Duke William: "The wound which occasioned the death of the Duke of Hamilton was received in one of his legs, a little below the knee, by a slug shot, which shattered the bone so fatally as wholly to disable him from keeping the field, and he was forced to retire into the town, where he fell into the enemies' hands in the evening of the day of battle. He was lodged at the Commandery, where his wound was searched by Mr. Kincaid, the king's surgeon, who pronounced amputation as the only means of saving his life. Cromwell sent his own surgeon, Trappam, to wait on the duke, who assured him there was no hazard. Two days after the wound had been received by the duke, Sir Robert Cunningham, the king's physician, being found among the prisoners, was brought to him, who reported to him, at his desire, that from the great loss of blood, nothing but an amputation afforded a probability of his recovery. Trappam's opinion had, however, so encouraged the duke to hope to save so severe an operation, that death alone could extinguish. At length, finding his strength fail, and feeling himself gradually declining, he sent his last thoughts to his lady and nieces, written with his own hand, and dated Worcester, Sept. 8th, 1651; and on the 12th, about noon, expired, in the 35th year of his age. His body was interred before the high altar in the cathedral church of Worcester; notwithstanding he had by his will ordered that it might be buried with his ancestors at Hamilton."

Leaden coffins very similar to that of the Duke of Hamilton, and of the middle of the seventeenth century, are mentioned by Gough in the introduction to his work on sepulchral monuments, in which he says: "In the vault under the chapel of Farleigh Castle, Wilts, were seven lead coffins much resembling Egyptian mummies, having all the

⁷ William Thornborough was a prebendary of Worcester from 1660 to 1680. Recent measurement shows that the spot

where this coffin was found is situated, as stated by Green, between 10 and 13 ft. from the north wall.

features of a face in strong relief, and the bodies gradually tapering from the shoulders to the feet." Amongst these were coffins containing the remains of Sir Edward and lady Margaret Hungerford, 1648.

In the interment of Prince Arthur in Worcester Cathedral, in 1502, we find from a contemporaneous MS. published by Hearne in his additions to Leland's Collectanea, that "the corpse was coyled, well seered, and conveniently dressed with spices and other sweet stuffe, such as those that bore the chardge thereof could purveye, and that it might be furnisht of. This was so sufficiently done, that it needed not lead, but was chested. The chest was covered with a good blacke cloth, close sewed to the same, with a white crosse and sufficient rings of iron to the same." The body, on being conveyed from Ludlow to Worcester, was placed in the quire under the herse, which" (says the writer, who appears to have been an eye-witness, perhaps one of the heralds or officers of arms who officially attended the funeral) "was the goodlyest and best wrought and garnished that ever I sawe." After the religious ceremonies, which were very long, "gentlemen took up the corpse and bare it to the grave at the south end of the high altar of that cathedral church, where were all the divine services. Then the corpse, with weeping and sore lamentation, was laid in the grave. The orisons were said by the Bishop of Lincolne, also sore weeping. He sett the crosse over the chest and cast holye water and earth thereon. His officer of armes, sore weeping, tooke of his coate of armes and cast it along over the chest right lamentably. Then Sir William Ovedall, comptroller of his houshold, sore weeping and crying, tooke the staffe of his office by both endes, and over his owne head brake it, and cast it into the grave. In likewise did Sir Ric. Croft, steward of his houshold, and cast his staffe broken into the grave. In likewise did the Gentlemen Ushers their rodde. This was a piteous sight to those who beheld it."—(Leland's Collect., vol. v. p. 374.)

Should there be at any future period an examination of the tomb of this noble prince, it ought to be undertaken with such a knowledge of the particulars of his obsequies as I have detailed. But may that time be far distant.

(To be continued.)

Original Documents.

BEING CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF READING ABBEY.

From the Muniments of the most Noble the MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.

AMONGST the monasteries of royal foundation in the times of the earlier sovereigns of the Norman race, scarcely any presents a subject of investigation more replete with interest in historical associations, and also in the details which throw light on the annals of conventual institutions in this country, than the great Benedictine Abbey of Reading. During four centuries the sunshine of royal favor seems constantly to have fallen on that house; unusual privileges were from time to time conceded; the mitred abbot, although the precise rule of precedence may not have been peremptorily prescribed, took place, it is said, among peers spiritual, next to the abbots of Glastonbury and St. Albans. Extensive as were the scattered possessions of the house in many counties, its rental must have proved insufficient to support the onerous distinction of frequent royal visits and the obligation of maintaining ample hospitalities, not so much towards the indigent as the guests of higher degree—prelates and nobles, with many who doubtless delighted to seek solace in the fragrant meads and shaded margins of the Thames and the Kennet. To such causes, more frequently perhaps than to imprudent administration, the embarrassments were due into which many well-endowed monasteries are found to have lapsed; it is no marvel that Reading, whilst enjoying the comparatively rare privilege of a mint, and in a position to requite the favor of the sovereign with substantial aid in a national emergency, was often burdened with debt, and numbered amongst its creditors the great European financiers of the period, the Lombards and the Caorsini.

Of the mass of valuable documentary evidence relating to the Abbey of Reading, comparatively little has hitherto been printed, although an ample summary of the history of the house and its possessions has been compiled by Mr. Coates, which has served as the groundwork of the account given in the new edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*.¹ The numerous charters and evidences preserved in public and in private depositories remain for the most part unpublished, the instruments given by Dugdale in the original edition of his great work being almost limited to the foundation charter and its confirmation by Henry II., whilst the documents selected by the editors of the recent edition, if we except the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, the

¹ History and Antiquities of Reading, by the Rev. C. Coates, and Supplement

1802-10: Monast. Angl., Caley's edit. vol. iv. p. 28.

Ministers' *Computus* at the Dissolution, and the curious Survey made by Commissioners of the Parliament in 1650, extend only to thirty-one. The transcripts preserved in the ancient Registers of the Monastery amount, in Cott. MS. Vesp. E. v. (formerly numbered A. 1) to upwards of fifty; whilst in a more complete register, Harl. MS. 1708, compiled about a century later than that first mentioned, a voluminous store of evidence is to be found, the charters and principal instruments therein contained extending to 213, according to an index given in the *Monasticon* (vol. iv., Caley's edit.). There are also other Registers, namely, Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxv., formerly in the library of the historian of Berkshire, Elias Ashmole; whilst another, marked Domit. A. iii., appears to relate exclusively to the Priory of Leominster, which was a cell to Reading.

The collection of original charters and evidences from which, by the kind permission of their noble possessor, the following selection has been made, appears to have remained hitherto unnoticed. We have sought in vain to obtain any information to explain the occurrence of so curious an assemblage of Berkshire records in the muniment chamber at Eaton Hall. They attracted the attention of Mr. Beamont, one of the earliest friends and members of the Institute, who, at the request of the Marquis of Westminster, had been engaged in preparing a calendar of ancient Grosvenor charters preserved at Eaton.² They have not been described in Mr. Beamont's inventory, being apparently unconnected with the Grosvenor family: it is not known that the ancestors of the noble Marquis had at any period lands which had formed part of the ancient possessions of the Monastery of Reading. We have to acknowledge with gratification the courteous liberality of Lord Westminster, who, through Mr. Beamont's friendly mediation in our favor, has readily consented to entrust to us the documents in question, with permission to publish any portion in the *Archæological Journal*.

It has been found convenient to limit the following selection, as an instalment from the curious evidences thus kindly placed at our disposal, to the earlier royal charters, from the time of the founder to the reign of Richard I., inclusive. In this little series, however, will be found documents of no ordinary interest. Of these two are grants by Queen Aalidis, Ælidis or Adeliza of Louvaine, the second wife of Henry I.; to which are appended fair impressions of her seal, of which, so far as we are aware, only a defaced fragment, attached to a document in the Treasury at New College, Oxford, was previously known. There are not less than four charters of the Empress Matilda, and five of Stephen; with the latter have been preserved impressions in unusually perfect condition of two distinct great seals of that sovereign.

The Foundation Charter of Henry I., dated 1125, has been printed in the *Monasticon* from a transcript in the Reading Chartulary, Cott. MS. Vesp. E. v. Amongst the subjoined documents another charter is given,

² The Calendar of the Grosvenor Charters, with an Introduction, notices of Seals, and other particulars of interest, has been printed by desire of the Marquis of Westminster (not for publication). The collection consists of 645 documents, and includes a few which have no direct relation to the family; for instance, the

Patent to Wolesey of the office of Lord Chancellor for life. It is to be regretted that Mr. Beamont should not have appended to this curious Calendar an enumeration of the Reading Abbey documents with any other miscellaneous matters which may have been found preserved at Eaton.

granting numerous privileges and exemptions not specified in the earlier one, and described by an endorsement apparently contemporary as "*carta gestatoria de libertatibus*." This somewhat remarkable designation occurs likewise in the Reading Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1708, in which we find a charter of Richard I. "*de libertatibus*," another of King John "*de omnibus possessionibus et libertatibus*," and the like of Henry III., in each instance with the distinctive term "*gestatoria*," which does not appear to have been noticed by the glossarists, and we have failed to find it in any other list of monastic evidences.³ The explanation which has been suggested that such charters may have been compendious abstracts, conveniently portable for ready reference, seems scarcely applicable, and we are desirous to invite the attention of our readers to this peculiar title in the hope that some satisfactory explanation may be found.

In No. IV., the second of the subjoined documents which concern land and the church at Stanton in Oxfordshire, Queen Adeliza seems to have expressed her determination to retain her seignory. Probably this resolution was due to the influence of her second husband, William de Albini Earl of Arundel, whom she espoused in 1139, as the document in question issued from Arundel. It bears an impression of her seal of which previously only a fragment was known, and it is remarkable that Adeliza appears to have used the identical matrix of the seal which had belonged to the first queen of Henry I., the name—AALIDIS—having been substituted for MATHILDIS.

It will be noticed that in one of the subjoined documents the Empress Matilda is styled "*Mathildis imperatrix Henrici Regis filia et Anglorum Regina*," in another "*Anglorum Domina*," as she is styled in her charter creating Milo of Gloucester Earl of Hereford, and in other instruments.⁴ In William of Malmesbury's relation of the memorable conference at Winchester after the capture of Stephen, when the Empress with her adherents was received by the Legate, Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, we find the terms on which that prelate consented to recognise her as *Domina*—a solemn oath having been taken by Matilda, in which the Earl of Gloucester, her half-brother, with other nobles present, participated—"Nec dubitavit Episcopus Imperatricem in *Dominam Anglie* recipere."⁵ This occurred on Sunday, March 2nd, 1141; on the following day she was honorably received into Winchester and brought into the cathedral by the Legate, attended by the Bishop of St. David's and other prelates, of whom several, it may be observed, occur as witnesses to the charter here printed. The crown of the realm of England was delivered to her, and, as we read in a

³ *Gestatorius*, that serves for carrying. Suetonius writes of a "*sella gestatoria*," in mediæval Latin *Gestatorius* signified a portable foretory for relics, a bier, &c.

⁴ Rymer, new edit. vol. i. p. 14. Compare also the charters of the Empress to St. Frideswide's, Oxford, Mon. Ang., Caley's edit., vol. ii. pp. 145, 146; the Foundation Charter of Bordesley Abbey, *ibid.* vol. v. p. 407; her charter to Stoneleigh, *ib.* p. 446, and several other grants in which she is invariably styled *Domina*. The fact that Matilda was never crowned queen of England may suffice to account for her being thus styled. Mr. William

Hardy has shown that Richard I. in like manner styled himself "*Dominus Anglie*," as appears by a charter in the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster, granted nearly a month after the death of Henry II., and previously to the coronation of his successor. *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 110.

⁵ Hist. Nov. ap. Rerum Angl. Script., p. 188. In his address to the Synod of Winchester, shortly after these events, Henry de Blois declared of his treaty with Matilda—"filiam pacifici regis—in Angliæ Normanniæque *Dominam* eligimus." *Ibid.* p. 189.

contemporary chronicle—"In publica se civitatis et fori audientia Dominam et Reginam acclamare præcepit." (*Gesta Steph.*, Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script.*, p. 954). The accomplished biographer of the Princesses of England, to whom we are indebted for a life of Matilda, observes that "the only instances in which we have documentary evidence that she styled herself Queen of England occur in two charters of this period," the first being at the request of the Bishop of Winchester, confirming to the monastery of Glastonbury, of which he was the abbot, all privileges and possessions which it enjoyed on the day when he came to meet Matilda at Wherwell, on the Sunday when, as before mentioned, the interview took place in which her claims were recognised. This document has been printed by Hearne, and in *Monast. Angl.*, Caley's edit., vol. i. p. 44. The second document to which Mrs. Everett Green refers is that of which the original has been preserved amongst the Marquis of Westminster's documents now under consideration.⁶ The charter to the church of Glastonbury may doubtless be assigned to the period of Matilda's brief residence in the ancient palace of Winchester, the favorite resort of the earlier English sovereigns, and where, as we learn from the poet Wace, she was born. Thence she proceeded to Wilton where she received the homage of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of a great multitude of other persons; after Easter, which occurred in 1141 on March 30th, she resorted early in May to Reading,⁷ where, amongst the numerous nobles who hastened to give their adhesion to her cause, came the powerful Robert d'Oily, on whose proposition to render up to her the castle of Oxford, Matilda went thither, and there kept the Whitsuntide festival (May 18th). During her brief stay at Reading she had doubtless been entertained with all becoming state within the monastery which her father had founded, and where his remains had been deposited. To the period of that visit her grants in favor of the abbey may be probably assigned.

The documents relating to the grant of lands in Surrey and Berkshire by Geoffrey Purcell, described as the king's usher (*hostiarius*), are not without interest. It should seem from these evidences that certain lands at Catshill in the former county, and at Windsor, were given by him to the Abbey of Reading on his becoming a monk there, and his gift was confirmed by the Empress Matilda; but on a further confirmation by Stephen it was arranged that Ralph Purcell should hold of the abbey land to the value of twenty shillings *per ann.* in Windsor, probably part of the land there before mentioned. It appears in the History of Surrey by Manning and Bray, that land at Catshill in the parish of Godalming was held by the Purcell family at a later period.⁸

It has been thought desirable to give the grants by Matilda at length, although before partly printed from transcripts in the Reading Chartulary, on account of the omission hitherto of the names of the witnesses, who are persons of historical importance as having taken active part in the memorable struggle for the crown between the Empress and King Stephen. An additional reason is that they serve to indicate the respective times at

⁶ Printed by Mrs. Everett Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England*, vol. i. App. p. 408, from a transcript in the Reading Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1708, the names of the witnesses being omitted.

⁷ "Ad Radingum infra Rogationes

veniens suscipitur cum honoribus." *Contin. Flor. Wigorn.*, p. 676.

⁸ *Hist. of Surrey*, vol. i. p. 615. See also the pedigree of descendants of Dynus Porcellus, *ib.* p. 85.

which those grants were made, within a very few years. Besides Robert Earl of Gloucester and Reginald Earl of Cornwall, her half-brothers, so well known in the history of the period, we find another half-brother Robert, less known, Milo of Gloucester the Constable, and afterwards Earl of Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, John Marshal, and Brien "*Filius Comitis*," an active and faithful adherent of the empress, whose origin and history are involved in much obscurity, as is shewn in Bishop Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*. It is remarkable that so acute a writer should have overlooked that the earlier Brien or Brientius "*filius comitis*" was dead in 1140, as is evident from a grant by Alan Earl of Britanny and Richmond his nephew to the monastery of St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, given in the *Monasticon*. It should rather seem that he was the later Brien mentioned by Dugdale in his *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 48, who appears as a witness to a grant by his brother, Conan Duke of Britanny and Earl of Richmond, to the nunnery of Denney in Cambridgeshire.¹ It may be thought probable from the peculiarity of his designation, that he was a natural son of Alan their father Earl of Richmond. His importance in this country was due to the great favor of King Henry I., and to his having married Matilda daughter and heiress of Robert d'Oily, and so having become possessor of Wallingford Castle. He is called by Malmesbury "*Brientius filius comitis Marchio de Walingford*," the castle of which place was rendered so well known through his prolonged defence of it against King Stephen. His name occurs among the witnesses to the foundation charter of Reading Abbey.

The series of royal grants here given closes with one of Richard I. to the abbot and monks of Reading, that their lands be held in their own demesne in accordance with the foundation charter by Richard's great grandfather Henry I., in which the following stringent conditions occur:—"Terras censuales non ad feudum donet (abbas), nec faciat milites nisi in sacra veste Christi."—"Nemo de possessione Radingensis monasterii aliquid teneat feodaliter absolutum."² The little grant by Cœur de Lion is not the least interesting in the collection of unpublished documents which have been preserved at Eaton. It was issued on Sept. 12, "apud Gaitintone," namely Geddington in Northamptonshire, the year not being stated. The only witness, however, was William de Mandeville Earl of Essex and Albemarle, who died in 1190, and we are thus enabled to assign this instrument to 1189, the year of Richard's accession. On his arrival in England the barons and prelates assembled at Winchester to receive their new sovereign, Sept. 3 being fixed for his coronation. The young king had taken the cross during his father's lifetime; he now devoted his energies to preparations for a crusade, and summoned a council to assemble at the Cistercian convent of Pipewell in Northamptonshire, on Sept. 15, in order to appoint a regency, to fill up vacant benefices, and take measures for the security of the realm during his absence. In the neighbourhood of Pipewell was the royal mansion at Geddington, where Henry II. held a Parliament in 1188.³ William de Mandeville, who had

² Vol. i. p. 48; the grant is given, *Monast. Angl.*, vol. vi. p. 990.

¹ *Monast. Angl.*, vol. vi. p. 1551, Caley's edition.

² *Monast. Angl.*, vol. iv. p. 41, Caley's edit.

³ The royal residence at Geddington appears to have been a favorite resort during several reigns. The locality is now chiefly known to the antiquary as having been one of the places where the corpse of Queen Eleanor rested, and

been high in the favor of Henry II., and who bore the great jeweled crown at the recent coronation, taking place in the procession immediately before Richard, appears to have been his companion at this critical moment, and to have witnessed his grant at Geddington to the monks of Reading three days previous to the Council, at which, it will be remembered, the king conferred upon him the important office of Justice of England, conjointly with Hugh de Pudsey, Bishop of Durham.

HENRY I. A.D. 1100—1135.

I. A charter, undated, endorsed—*Carta Regis Henrici primi Gestatoria de libertatibus.*⁴

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibusque suis et omnibus christianis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem perpetuam. Sciatis me pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum novam apud Radingiam abbatiam construxisse, eidemque abbacie omnem immunitatem et potestatem quietantiam et libertatem dedisse quam regia potestas alicui abbacie conferre potest. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod Abbas et monachi de Radingia omnia tenementa sua tam laica quam ecclesiastica quecumque in presenti habent vel in posterum donatione fidelium habituri sunt bene et in pace libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice teneant in omnibus locis et in omnibus rebus ubicumque fuerint quieti de Denegeldis et omnibus geldis et auxiliis et sciris et hundredis et omnibus placitis et querelis de scutagiis et hidagiis et stallagiis de summagiis et careagiis de navigiis et clausuris de pontium et castrorum edificatione de conductu thesauri et omni operatione de tributis et lestagiis de theodienpeni et tinpeni de summonicionibus de assisis et superassiss (*sic*) de merciis quacumque occasione exigendis et de omnibus forisfacturis undecumque fuerint de essartis et nemorum wastis. Nullus vero de forestariis regis quicquam se intromittat de boscis Abbatis et monachorum qui sunt intra forestam, sed omnem potestatem et libertatem quam habet rex in boscis suis habeant Abbas et monachi et ministri eorum in omnibus boscis qui ad abbatiam pertinent ubicumque fuerint. Sintque Abbas et monachi Radingie et omnes homines eorum et res ipsorum quieti de hedagiis et theloneis et omnibus exactionibus et consuetudinibus in nundinis et foris quorumcumque sunt in terris et aquis in viis et transitibus pontium et portibus maris per totam Angliam et Normanniam; habeatque Abbas et monachi omnem justiciam de assaltu et murdis et sanguinis effusione et pacis infractione et thesauri inventionem quicquid ad regiam pertinet potestatem; mercie nulle de Abbate Radingie vel monachis nec de tenementis vel boscis eorum exigantur nec exacte solvantur, sed sint omnes homines eorum et eorum dominia ita quieti et libera sicut mea propria, et soli Abbati et monachis de omnibus respondentia. Et habeant Abbas et monachi de hominibus suis et de tota possessione sua et de alienis in ea forisfacientibus vel ibi cum

where a cross erected to her memory still exists. A writ of King John regarding the King of Connaught is tested "Apud Geydington." Rymer, vol. i. p. 91. The abbot and convent of the adjacent monastery of Pipewell, whose pos-

sessions were in great part in the fee of "Geytington," obtained the church of that place by exchange from Edward III.

⁴ Printed from the Wollascot MS. in Coates' Hist. of Reading, App. No. i.

forisfacto interceptis hundreda et placita omnia, cum sacca et socca et toll et theam et infaugentheof et hutfangentheof in omnibus locis cum omnibus que sunt vel esse possunt. Hanc monasterio Radingie quantuncumque rex donare potest dono et confirmo libertatem et immunitatem, quam regibus post me in Anglia regnaturis pro Deo servandam commendo. Quam qui infringere vel minuere presumpserit contrahat eum dominus et conterat de terra viventium cum omni posteritate sua. Hujus nostre donationis hos testes adhibemus, Willelmum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, Thurstinum et Galfridum Eboracensem et Rothomagensen Archiepiscopos, Willelmum et Seffridum Wintoniensem et Cicastreensem Episcopos, Robertum et Willelmum Comites Glocestrie et Surreie. Apud Westmonasterium.

The seal is lost, but there remains a stout label of white deer-skin passed through a fold at the bottom of the deed.⁵

II. Writ, undated, discharging the tenants of Geoffrey Purcell at Catshill and Chiddingfold, Surrey, from toll and custom.

Henricus Rex Anglie Ricardo Basset et Alberico de Ver et Vicecomiti et omnibus Burgensibus suis de Geldefort salutem. Precipio quod homines Gaufridi Purcelli hostiarii mei de Chatishille et de Chedelingfolt⁶ sint ita bene et juste in pace de theloneo et omni consuetudin' sicut fuerunt tempore patris sui. Teste Milone Glocestrensi. Apud Winton'.⁷

A fragment of an impression of the great seal, on white wax, remains, on a parchment label cut lengthways.

ADELIZA, QUEEN OF HENRY I. A.D. 1121, SHE DIED c. 1151.

III. Grant, undated, to the Abbey of one hundred shillings' worth of land in her manor of Stanton, Oxfordshire, and also of the church of Stanton.⁸

Notum sit presentibus et futuris omnibus ecclesiæ catholicæ filiis quod ego Aelidis regina uxor nobilissimi regis Henrici concessi et dedi Deo et ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Radingis et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus centum solidatas terræ in manerio meo de Stanton in Oxeneforda schira,

⁵ We have been unable to ascertain with precision the date of this important instrument. On comparison with the foundation charter of Henry I., bearing date 1125, the occurrence of so many of the same witnesses in both documents may supply presumptive evidence that they are contemporary. The foundation charter, preserved amongst the Public Records at the Rolls, bears, however, the "*signum Adeleidis reginæ*," and that of the Legate of the Apostolic see, with some others not found in the *carta gestatoria*.

⁶ Chiddingfold, parcel of the manor of

Godalming, Surrey. Manning and Bray's Hist., vol. i. p. 650.

⁷ Milo of Gloucester, one of the chief attendants of Henry I., who gave to him in marriage Sibyll, daughter of Bernard of Newmarch, Lord of Brecknock, and the office of Constable of his Court.

⁸ This and the following document have been printed by Bishop Kennett in his *Parochial Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 153, 154, from transcripts in the Reading Chartulary, but the witnesses are omitted. He has printed also two other grants by Queen Adeliza relating to Stanton.

ad procuracionem conventus et religiosarum personarum illuc convenientium in termino anniversarii domini mei nobilissimi Regis Henrici, et preter illas centum solidatas terræ concessi eis et dedi æcclesiam ejusdem manerii Stantonæ cum omnibus rebus eidem ecclesiæ pertinentibus, et volo atque precipio ut in pace et libere et quiete teneant cum omnibus liberalibus consuetudinibus cum quibus dominus meus nobilissimus Rex Henricus ea in dominio suo tenuit et mihi dedit. Notumque sit quod eandem æcclesiam concessi ad continua luminaria ante corpus domini nostri Jhesu Christi et ante corpus domini mei nobilissimi Regis Henrici. Testibus Hermagno capellano, et Alluredo capellano, et Francone capellano, et Magistro Serlone, et Eudone filio Alani, et Anlardo Flandr', et Gaufrido de Tresgoz, et Raginaldo de Wind'r, et Roberto de Chalz, et Roberto de Alta Ripa, et Rotardo camerario, et Warino camerario, et Godeschalco conestabulario, et Waltero Crabbe.

There is appended by a label of deer's skin passed through the fold at the bottom of the parchment, a pointed oval seal of white wax, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide: device, a female figure standing, holding in her right hand a short sceptre ensigned with a dove, the handle terminating in a trefoiled ring resembling that of a key of the period, and in her left an orb ensigned with a cross; she is habited in a long tunic falling in very full folds about the feet, with wide open sleeves, and a strip of fur from the waist downwards. Over this garment there is a mantle with an ornamented collar fastened at the neck by a quatrefoiled brooch, and gathered up over each arm in full folds somewhat after the manner of wearing a chasuble. On the head appears a crown, from beneath which falls a coverchief that disappears at the neck under the mantle. The legend is + SIGILLVM · AALIDIS · SECVND(AE · DE)I · GRACIA · REGINAE · ANGLIE. The mode in which this seal is attached deserves notice; it is placed sideways, the head of the figure to the spectator's left. The seal attached to the next document is also thus placed sideways on the label.

The singular circumstance has been already noticed that the seal of which these are impressions had been used by the first queen of Henry I., designated in its legend *secundæ*, probably to distinguish her from Matilda wife of the Conqueror. The matrix having, however, been rendered available for the use of Adeliza by the substitution of her name, the word *secundæ*, which could not conveniently be removed whilst no additional title or the like occurred to fill up the space, must, it is imagined, have been taken as appropriate to the *second* consort of Henry I.

IV. A mandate, undated, by Queen Adeliza, that the church of Stanton or other of her gifts should not be put out of her power.

A. Dei gracia Regina Edwardo Abbati et toto Conventui de Rading' salutem. Audivi a quibusdam quod vultis ecclesiam de Stanton extra dominium nostrum et manum ponere. Quare mando vobis quod nolo ut illam vel aliquid aliud de Elemosina mea extra manum nostram ponatis. Teste Reinaldo de Wind'r. Apud Arundelle.⁹

⁹ Edward was elected Abbot of Reading in 1135, and died in 1154. This document, issued from Arundel, must

obviously be assigned to a period subsequent to Adeliza's second marriage in 1138.

There is appended, by a label partially cut from the bottom of the parchment, a seal of white wax, apparently from the same matrix as that of the seal to the preceding document. The figure from the neck upwards is wanting. Endorsed in a contemporary hand,—*Adeleidis regine ne ecclesia de Stanton mittatur extra dominium nostrum.*

MATILDA (EMPRESS), A.D. 1114—1167.

V. Grant, undated, of lands at Windsor and Catshill before mentioned to the Abbey.¹

Mathildis imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum regina archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Vicecomitibus Ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Angliæ salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Radingis et Monachis ibidem Deo servantibus, pro salute animæ meæ et pro anima Henrici regis patris mei, et pro incolunitate Gaufrædi Andegavorum comitis et domini Henrici filii mei et aliorum filiorum meorum, et pro statu totius regni, terram de Windesoris et de Cateshella in perpetuam elemosinam quæ fuit Gaufrædi Purcelle, quam monasterio Radingensi dedit quando ibi monachus devenit. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice et plenarie teneant in bosco et plano et pratis et pasturis, in aquis et stagnis et molendinis, in civitate et extra et in omnibus rebus et locis omnibus, et cum omnibus libertatibus et quietantiis ad terram illam pertinentibus. Testibus Henrico episcopo Wintoniensi, Alexandro Linchoniensi episcopo, Nigello episcopo Heliensi, Bernardo episcopo de Sancto David, Rodberto episcopo Herefordense (*sic*), et testibus Roberto comite de Glocestria, et Reginaldo comite filio regis, et Rodberto fratre ejus, et Brien' filio comitis, Milone constabulo, Johanne marescallo. Apud Rading'.²

The seal is lost. A seal of Matilda has been figured by Sandford, Book i., pl. B, p. 37. It is circular, representing a seated figure crowned and holding a sceptre; legend—+ MATHILDIS DEI GRATIA ROMANORVM REGINA. This is the only type known of a seal of Matilda, although Tyrrel states that the impression appended to a confirmation to the Priory of St. James, Exeter, bore the legend, "*Macthildis Regina Romanorum et Domina Anglorum*;" which document is preserved at St. John's College, Cambridge, and on examination the seal proves to be identical with that engraved by Sandford: two impressions exist in the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster, noticed, *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 459, and there is one at Durham. Another, amongst the charters of the Abbey of St. André-de-Gouffern, is figured by D'Anisy, *Sceaux Normands*, pl. ii.

¹ A transcript of this document may be found in the Reading Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1708, f. 176, and it has been partly printed by Mrs. Everett Green in the Appendix to the life of Matilda, in the *Lives of the Princesses of England*, by that accomplished authoress. See vol. i. p. 408.

² The date of this document may probably be referred to the period of Matilda's sojourn at Reading in May,

1141. Milo de Gloucester, lord constable, is here designated only as such; he was created Earl of Hereford, July 25, 1141. A transcript of this charter may be found in the Reading Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1708, f. 17 b, with transcripts of the two following documents, also of her grants regarding the churches of Tacheham and of Berkeley, and two other grants in favor of the abbey.

VI. Grant by way of confirmation of the church of Stanton before mentioned to the Abbey.

Mathildis imperatrix Henrici regis filia Alexandro episcopo Lincolnensi et omnibus baronibus de Oxeneforde scire salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse æcclesiam de Stanton cum omnibus rebus ei pertinentibus in decimis et terris et omnibus aliis rebus æcclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Rading' et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in elemosinam, sicut eam A[deleidis] regina uxor patris mei et Willelmus vir ejus eis dederunt et per cartas suas confirmaverunt; et volo et precipio ut eam bene et in pace teneant sicut melius [al]ias suas res tenent. His testibus, Bernardo episcopo de Sancto David, et Roberto comite de Glocestria, et Hunfrido de Buun dapifero. Apud Rading'.³

The seal is lost.

VII. Grant, undated, of Blewbury, Berks, to the Abbey.⁴

Mathildis Imperatrix Henrici Regis filia et Anglorum domina Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Angliæ salutem. Sciatis me, pro anima Henrici Regis patris mei et Mathildis Regine matris mee et antecessorum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam et pro amore et legali servicio Brien's filii Comitis quod michi fecit, dedisse et concessisse Deo et Sancte Mariæ et monachis Rading' Bleberiam ita bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice et plenarie tenendam cum soca et saca et toll et theam et infangenetheof et cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et libertatibus sicut Henricus Rex pater meus eam melius et liberius et quietius et plenarius habuit et tenuit. Testibus Roberto Comite Glocestrie, et Reginaldo Comite Cornubie, et Rogero Comite Herefordie, et Unfrido de Buhun dapifero, et Willelmo filio Alani, et Joscio de Dinan, et Walkelino Maminot, et Willelmo Paganello, et Willelmo⁶ Hamonis, Hugone filio Ricardi, et Riulfo de Sessun. Apud Divisas.

The seal is lost; it was appended by a plaited hempen cord of four strands curiously woven.

VIII. A duplicate of the preceding grant. Seal lost, which was appended by a label partially cut from the bottom of the parchment.

³ This document may possibly be referred to the same year as the preceding. It is, however, very probable that Matilda may have visited Reading at some other time during the eventful period of her sojourn in England between Sept. 31, 1139, when she landed on the southern coast, and her departure in 1147. A transcript of this charter may be found in the Reading Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1708, f. 17.

⁴ The precise date of this document

has not been ascertained. Robert Earl of Gloucester, the first witness, died 1147; Reginald was created Earl of Hereford in 1143, and died 1154. A transcript of this charter may be found in the Reading Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1708, f. 17 b.

⁵ In the duplicate next mentioned this name is written *Bri* without any mark of contraction.

⁶ In the duplicate the word *filio* occurs here.

STEPHEN. A.D. 1135—1154.

IX. Grant, undated, to the Abbey, of land in Windsor and Catshill.

Stephanus Rex Anglie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Vicecomitibus Ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis tocius Anglie salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Deo et Sancte Marie de Radingis et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, pro salute anime mee et regis Henrici avunculi mei et pro incolumitate tocius regni mei, totam terram de Windesoris et de Cateshala in perpetuam elemosinam que fuit Gaufridi Purcelle, tali tenore quod Radulfus Purcelle teneat de ipsis Monachis xx. solidatas de terra de Windesoris sicut inde finivit coram me cum ipsis monachis. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice et plenarie teneant in bosco et plano et pratis et pasturis in aquis et stagnis et molendinis in civitate et extra et in omnibus rebus et locis omnibus et cum omnibus libertatibus et quietanciis ad terram illam pertinentibus et cum quibus melius et liberius et quietius tenent alias terras suas. Testibus Gaufrido de Magnavilla, et Ricardo de Luci, et Turgisio de Abrincis, et Elya de Amundevilla, et Johanne Vicecomite, et Roberto Burnelle, et Radulfo Purcelle. Apud Norwicum.

Seal lost ; it was appended by a label of white deer's skin.

X. Precept, undated, in favor of the monks of Reading in regard to their land at Catshill.

Stephanus Rex Anglie Comiti de Warennia salutem. Precipio tibi quod permittas Monacos (*sic*) de Rading' tenere terram suam de Cateshulla quam Gaufridus Purcel meo concessu dedit eis bene et in pace et libere sicut carta mea testatur quam inde habent quod tenere debent, et quicquid inde cepisti totum eis juste reddas ; et si quicquam inde clamaveris venias in curiam meam et tenebo inde tibi plenum rectum sicut de re corone mee pertinente. Et scias quod multum miror quod ipsos monacos inde laboras. Teste Roberto cancellario.⁷ Apud Oxoniam.

There is appended by a label partially cut from the bottom of the parchment an imperfect impression on white wax of the seal hereafter described. See No. XI. *infra*.

XI. Grant, undated, to the Abbey of the manor of Blewbury, Berkshire.

Stephanus Rex Anglie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus et Baronibus et Ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Anglie salutem. Sciatis quia, pro salute anime mee et Mathildis Regine uxoris mee et Eustachii filii mei et aliorum puerorum meorum et pro anima Regis Henrici avunculi mei, dedi et concessi Ecclesie Beate Marie Rading' et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus

⁷ Robert de Gant, a younger son of Gilbert de Gant who accompanied his uncle the Conqueror into England. The

period at which Robert was appointed chancellor has not been ascertained ; he died in 1153.

Manerium meum de Bleberia cum omnibus eidem pertinentibus, quare volo et firmiter precipio quod bene et in pace et libere et honorifice et quiete teneant et in perpetuum possideant in bosco et plano in pratis et pasturis in aquis et molendinis et cum omnibus aliis rebus cum Saca et Soena et Toll et Theam et Infangenetheof et cum omnibus aliis liberis consuetudinibus et quietationibus eidem Manerio pertinentibus, cum quibus Henricus Rex avunculus meus vel ego melius vel liberius tenuimus et sicut ipsi Monachi melius et liberius et quietius tenent alias terras suas. Testibus Mathildi Regina uxore mea, et Henrico Wintoniensi Episcopo fratre meo, et Rogero Episcopo Cestrensi, et H. Decano de Waltham, et Comite Eustachio filio meo, et Willelmo de Ipra, et W. Mart',⁸ et Ricardo de Luci. Apud Lond'.

There is appended by a label partially cut from the bottom of the parchment, an impression, on dingy white wax and in good preservation, of the larger seal of Stephen figured by Sandford, pl. B, p. 38; diameter nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Sandford observes that he had seen two impressions, one in the Registry of Westminster, the other in the chamber of the Duchy of Lancaster. The chief distinctive peculiarities are, on the obverse a star of seven points in the field on the right of the king's head, on the reverse a lance with a gonfalon carried by the mounted figure: the mail is represented by lines crossing each other diagonally, forming a trellis-work. The reverse is figured by Mr. Hewitt, Arms and Armour in Europe, p. 122; also in the series of Great Seals engraved by the process of Achille Collas, pl. II., fig. 3.⁹

XII. Precept, undated, in favor of the Abbot of Reading, in regard to the land and men of Rowington, Warwickshire.

Stephanus Rex Anglie Episcopo Wirec(estrensi)¹ et Comiti de Warwic' et Justiciariis et Vicecomitibus et Baronibus et ministris de Warwicscira salutem. Precipio quod Abbas de Rading' teneat terram et homines suos de Rochintona ita bene et in pace et libere et quiete in pratis et pasturis et aquis et via (sic) et semitis et divisis cum omnibus quietationibus suis de placitis omnibus et querelis et sciris et hundredis et occasionibus sicut melius tenuerit tempore Regis Henrici et die qua fuit vivus et mortuus, quia ecclesia illa in manu et tutela meis est propria sicut erat in manu Regis Henrici. Teste R(oberto) de Ver.² Apud Westmonasterium.

⁸ Probably William Martel, who occurs amongst the witnesses to Stephen's charter regarding the succession, dated 1153. Rymer, new edit., vol. i. p. 18.

⁹ It deserves notice that in 1834 Mr. Doubleday exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries an impression of a seal of Stephen from the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster, described as a "new seal, —larger than the seal already known to our heralds and historians, and with the same inscription both on obverse and reverse." It appears, however, to be otherwise identical with that above described, with a star at the side of the

king's head on the obverse, and a lance in the hand of the mounted figure. It is appended to a confirmation to Geoffrey Earl of Essex of certain lands in that county. Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 459.

¹ John de Pagham, consecrated bishop of Worcester, 4th March, 1150–1151; he died 1157. Roger de Newburgh succeeded his father Henry Earl of Warwick, 1123; he died 1153.

² This may probably have been Robert, lord of Twiwell, Northamptonshire, brother of Aubrey de Vere Earl of Oxford, killed in a popular tumult.

There is appended, by a label partially cut from the bottom of the parchment, an impression on white wax of a seal of Stephen, of somewhat smaller dimensions than that noticed before (No. XI.); diameter about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. The distinctive peculiarities are that on the obverse there is no star in the field on the right side of the head of the king, and that on the reverse the mounted figure bears a sword instead of a lance with a gonfanon. The shield has a small projecting spike, which may be distinguished more plainly in another impression of which the reverse is figured in Mr. Hewitt's *Armour and Weapons in Europe*, vol. i. p. 144. Both the obverse and reverse are figured in *Speed's Chronicle*, p. 455, and in the series of Great Seals engraved by the process of Achille Collas, Pl. II. fig. 2. This seal is not figured by Sandford, who, however, describes it from an impression in his own custody, p. 38.

XIII. Precept, undated, exempting the land and men of Rowington from Danegelt and other exactions.

Stephanus Rex Anglie Rogero Comiti Warwic' et Ministris suis salutem. Mando vobis et precipio quod terra et homines Monachorum (sic) Rading' de Rochintona sint bene et in pace et quieti de Danegelde et de omnibus aliis exactionibus sicut fuerunt quieti tempore Regis Henrici et sicut carta Regis Henrici et mea eis testantur, et volo quod pacem habeant. Teste R(icardo) de Luci. Apud Rading'.

There is appended, by a parchment label partially cut from the bottom of the parchment, a fragment of an impression on friable white wax of the seal above described. See No. XI. *supra*.

HENRY II. A.D. 1154—1189.

XIV. Confirmation, undated, of the charters of Henry I., Matilda the Empress, and himself.

Henricus Rex Anglie et Dux Normannie et Aquitanie et Comes Andegavie omnibus Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Justiciariis Baronibus Vicecomitibus Ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Anglie salutem. Sciatis me in perpetuam elemosinam concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse Deo et sancte Marie et Monachis de Rading' omnes terras et tenuras quas Rex Henricus avus meus eis dedit et concessit, videlicet, totam villam de Radingia cum ecclesiis et terram quam Robertus de Ferrariis in eadem villa habuit, et Liministriam cum Ecclesiis et capellis et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, et Tacheham et Chelseiam cum centum solidis quos Willelmus filius Geroldi reddebat de firma predicto Regi Henrico avo meo, et Wicheberiam cum ecclesia ejusdem ville, et Rokinton' cum Ecclesia ejusdem ville, et Wigestanam que fuit terra Willelmi Elemosinarii, et terram Roberti sacerdotis de Hamtona, et terram Albodi de Hoctona, et hidam terre de Undesoura. Preterea concedo eis et confirmo quicquid post mortem Regis Henrici avi mei eis dedit et concessit in elemosinam domina mea Imperatrix, scilicet, Bleberiam et Henredam, et terram Herberti filii Fulcheri de Merleberga, et Ecclesiam de Berchelaia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et Ecclesiam de Stantonam cum pertinentiis suis, et Ecclesiam de Tacheham cum omnibus pertinentiis suis;

et ex dono predicti Regis Henrici avi mei concedo eis et confirmo unam feriam ad festum sancti Laurentii, scilicet, ipsa die sancti Laurentii et per tres dies sequentes, et monetam cum uno Monctario apud London' vel apud Rading'. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod Monachi predicti habeant et teneant in perpetuam elemosinam hec omnia supradicta cum omnibus pertinenciis suis soluta et quieta de Thelon' et Passag' et Pontag' et omni Geldo et Danegeldo et omni alia exactione et consuetudine in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in aquis et molendinis in viis et semitis in vivariis et piscariis et marischis infra Burgum et extra et in omnibus locis et in omnibus rebus, et sint ipsi et terre sue et homines eorum soluti et quieti Thelon' de scir' et hundred' et placitis et omnibus querelis, sintque Abbatis et Monachorum ejus de hominibus suis et de tota possessione sua et de alienis in ea forisfacientibus vel ibi cum forisfacto interceptis hundreda et placita omnia cum socca et saca et toll et team et infangeneth' et utfangeneth' et hamsoena infra Burgum et extra Burgum in viis et semitis et in omnibus locis cum omnibus causis que sunt vel esse possunt. Habeantque Abbas et Monachi Rading' in tota possessione sua omnem Justiciam de assaltu et furtis et murdris et de sanguinis effusione et pacis infractione et de omnibus forisfactis, quantum ad regiam pertinet potestatem, et teneant ita bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice sicut Rex Henricus avus meus unquam melius et liberius et quietius tenuit in suo proprio dominio, et sicut ejusdem Regis Henrici avi mei carta testatur, et sicut eis testatur carta Domine mee Imperatricis et mea. Testibus Domina Imperatrice, et Philippo Baiocensi Episcopo, et Comite Roginaldo, et Roberto de Novo Burgo, et Man(aser) Biset dapifero, et Stephano de Bello Campo. Apud Rothomagum

An imperfect impression of the great seal on green wax is appended by a plaited cord of three strands which appears to have been of crimson color, and the seal is enclosed in a bag of fine tissue.

Endorsed in a contemporary hand,—Carta Regis Henrici II. gestatoria de libertatibus.⁸

XV. Writ, undated, for protection of the lands and tenants of the Abbey of Reading.

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Dux Normannie et Aquitanie et Comes Andegavie Justiciariis Vicecomitibus et omnibus Ballivis suis in quorum balliis Monachi de Rading' terras habent salutem. Precipio vobis quod custodiatis et manuteneatis et protegatis terras et homines et omnes res et possessiones Monachorum de Rading' sicut meas proprias, ita quod nullam molestiam vel injuriam aut gravamen eis faciatis nec fieri permittatis, quia omnia sua sunt in manu et custodia et protectione mea; et prohibeo ne de ullo tenemento quod in dominio suo teneant ponantur in placitum nisi coram me vel coram Capitali Justicia mea. Teste Galfrido Eliensi Episcopo.⁹ Apud Windesor'.

There is appended, by a parchment label cut lengthwise, a fragment of

⁸ In the Reading Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1708, three charters of Henry II., entitled "De libertatibus" are preserved, with several others by the same king.

See ff. 20, 21

⁹ Geoffrey Ridel was consecrated Bishop of Ely 1174, and died 1189.

a seal in white wax, the surface painted over or slightly faced with dull-colored red, as occasionally found on seals of the period.

XVI. Grant, undated, in confirmation of the adjustment of a controversy between the Abbey of Reading and the Abbey of Gloucester concerning the church of Cam, Gloucestershire.

Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie Dux Normannie et Aquitanie et Comes Andegavie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis totius Anglie salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse pacem et finem factum coram Bartholomeum et Johannem Exoniensem et Cicestrensem Episcopos inter Monasterium et Monachos de Rading' et Monasterium et Monachos Gloceestrie de controversia et lite que assistentibus Canonicis sancti Augustini de Bristowa et aliis competitoribus Monachorum de Rading' vertebatur inter eadem Monasteria et eosdem Monachos de ecclesia de Camma et omnibus ejus pertinentiis, videlicet, quod assensu meo et predictorum Episcoporum qui ex mandato domini Pape Alexandri tercii in controversia illa fuerant judices delegati inter predicta Monasteria et Monachos in eis Deo servientes ita convenit, quod Monasterium Gloceestrie pro bono pacis et nomine transactionis pro memorata controversia et querela perpetuo terminanda solvet annuatim Monasterio de Rading' sex [marcas] argenti, tres ad Pascha et tres ad festum Sancti Michaelis, quarum medietatem percipient Ca[nonici] sancti Augustini de Bristowa per manus Monachorum de Rading'. Tenebit autem Monasterium Gloceestrie predictam ecclesiam de Camma cum omnibus pertinentiis suis de me in capite sicut propriam elemosinam meam, salva Monachis de Rading' predicta sex marcarum solutione a Monasterio Gloceestrie facienda, ita quod et Monachi de Rading' sex illas marcas tanquam propriam elemosinam meam perpetuo percipiant et possideant. Id etiam compositionis tenori adjectum est ut ad prenominate ecclesie de Camma pertinentias revocandas que ei subtrahere sunt aut a quibuscunque detente Monachi de Rading' coadjuvantibus Canonicis Sancti Augustini consilium et auxilium Monachis Gloceestrie karitative et sociali[ter] impendant. Debent etiam Monachi Gloceestrie predictorum Canonicorum Sancti Augustini de Bristowa super [memo]rata compositione quantum in eis est fideliter firmiterque servanda cartam confirmationis [habere]. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod hec pax et concordia et finis factus inter supradicta Mo[nasteria] et Monachos de prefata Ecclesia de Camma et omnibus pertinentiis suis stabilis sit et inconcu[ssus] teneatur. Testibus Comite Willelmo de Maundevilla, Roberto Comite Legr',¹ Fulcone Paienelle, Rogero de Stutevilla, Roberto de Stutevilla, Willelmo de Stutevilla, Gaufrido Pertico, Willelmo filio Aldel' Dapifero. Apud W

An imperfect impression of the great seal on pale red wax is appended by a plaited silken cord of two strands, green and crimson.²

XVII. Grant, undated, of the Manor of Aston, Herts, to the Abbey.³

¹ Robert Blanchmains, Earl of Leicester 1167, ob. 1190.

² A transcript of this document is preserved in the Reading Chartulary,

Harl. MS. 1708, f. 22 b., from which several words deficient in the original charter have been supplied in brackets.

³ A transcript of this grant, which

Henricus Rex Anglie Dux Normannie et Aquitanie et Comes Andegavie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis francis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis me, pro animabus Henrici regis illustris avi mei ejusque uxoris Matildis regine avie mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum et mea, in perpetuam elemosinam presenti carta confirmasse Deo et Sancte Marie et monachis meis de Rading' Eston' manerium meum in Herfordsir' cum omnibus appendiciis suis et cum ecclesia ejusdem ville, ita bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice et plenarie tenendum in boscis et planis et pasturis in stagnis et aquis piscariis et molendinis et omnibus aliis rebus ad idem manerium pertinentibus sicut melius et liberius et quietius aliquid tenent ex dono Henrici regis avi mei et meo. Sint que homines ejusdem ville liberi et quieti de siris et hundredis et omnibus placitis et querelis, de auxiliis et carengiis et omnibus exactionibus, de theloneis et passagiis et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus, habeantque omnem libertatem quam habent vel habere debent homines de Rading' vel Cealseia ex concessione Henrici regis avi mei vel mea. Testibus Domina Imperatrice, Philippo Baiocensi Episcopo, Reginaldo Comite, Roberto de Novo Burgo, Manaser Biset Dapifero, Jocelino de Balliolo, Roberto de Curci, Thoma de Sancto Johanne, Driu de Munci, Wilhelmo de Crevecuer, Wilhelmo de Angervilla, et G. filio Pag'. Apud Rothomagum.

An imperfect impression of the great seal on white wax is appended by a plaited hempen cord of four strands curiously woven.

RICHARD I. 1189—1199.

Grant, undated, to the Abbot and monks that their lands be held in their own demesne, and none be given by way of fief.

Ricardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie Dux Normannie Aquitanie Comes Andegavie Abbatibus de Radinges et toti conventui Ecclesie Rading' salutem. Volumus et firmiter precipimus quod omnes terras et tenuras vestras teneatis in dominio vestro liberas et absolutas ita quod nemini inde detur in feudum, sicut Rex Henricus avus patris nostri precepit per cartam suam. Et si quid inde alicui datum est in feudum post mortem predicti Regis Henrici avi patris nostri totum resaisiatis sine dilacione in dominium vestrum et in pace teneatis, et si quis aliquid tenementum calumpniaverit de vobis in feudum et hereditatem non respondeatur ei contra cartam Regis Henrici avi patris nostri et suam et nostram, et si quis vobis inde vim et injuriam fecerit Justiciarii et Vicecomites et Ministri nostri vobis inde justiciam et pacem sine dilacione faciant. Teste Comite Wilhelmo de Mandevilla. Apud Gaitinton', xij. die Septembris.

A fragment of an impression of the king's earlier seal, on white wax, is appended by a parchment label.⁴

ALBERT WAY.

may probably be assigned to the year 1189, as before stated, is to be found in the Reading Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1708, f. 23 b.

⁴ A transcript of this grant is preserved in the Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1708, f. 30 b.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THORSBJERG MOSEFUND, ET SAMLET FUND FRA DEN ÆLDRE JERNALDR, &c. "The find in Thorsbjerg Moss of Objects from the Early Iron Age" now preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at Flensburg in Denmark. By CONRAD ENGELHARDT. With 18 copper plates of antiquities, and some chemotype figures. Copenhagen, 4to., 1863.

OUR Danish neighbours have the art of accomplishing quietly a vast amount of antiquarian labour, while other nations are only discussing the ways and means to do so. The great Museum of Danish Antiquities at Copenhagen, the noblest collection of its kind in existence, has grown up in the lifetime of its present curator, by the simple, common-sense arrangement of the law of "treasure trove," while in England we have not even as yet settled the meaning of the term, and every unfortunate finder of an article of value is pounced upon by half-a-dozen claimants.

It is generally supposed that this vast museum of Copenhagen has necessarily absorbed all the antiquities of the little kingdom of Denmark, but we see from the volume before us that a small town within the Danish dominions can boast of a collection of objects of northern archaeology, unique of its kind, and all of which are the produce of the neighbouring morasses. The work has been drawn up by Conrad Engelhardt, director of the Museum at Flensburg, in the province of Schleswig, and has been most handsomely printed and illustrated at the expense of the Danish Government. Few or none of the objects here described were known before 1858. Some articles of interest had been occasionally picked up on the edge of Thorsbjerg Moss, but it was not until 1856 that the apothecary Mecklenburg, in Flensburg, a zealous collector of antiquities, obtained a series of objects from thence, and which he afterwards presented to the Flensburg Museum. Some time elapsed before the locality from whence these articles proceeded could be ascertained, and it was not till Whitsun-week, 1858, that any further investigations took place. At that time a slight search produced such rich results, that the Danish Government advanced the requisite funds for a formal excavation. The depth at which the objects lay, and the abundance of water in the moss, rendered the work difficult, but it was completed by the end of 1861, and all the objects discovered were lodged in the Museum at Flensburg. These objects were of bronze, silver, wood, leather, woollen cloth, and gold; while in another moss, about four Danish miles north of Flensburg, Nydam Moss, a remarkable assemblage of swords, spear-heads, &c., of iron, were discovered, with numerous Roman coins.

The moss of Thorsbjerg is of small extent, and in its upper layers are found numerous trunks of trees, alder and birch, all with their tops towards the centre of the moss. The principal antiquities were discovered in a space of about 7,000 square feet. The uppermost layer of the moss consists of a bed of moss and bog plants, about eleven feet in thickness. Under this is a bed, five feet thick, composed in a great measure of gigantic oak trees, many of the stems being five feet in diameter; and it was in the lower part of this bed that the antiquities began to appear. The first objects turned up were some shield-boards, and some pieces of leather and metal-work. The wooden articles seemed to have lain long on the surface of the moss before being covered up, for their upper side was dark

colored and bore marks of insects, while the lower was white and fresh. The deeper-lying objects were as fresh as if they had just been deposited. The uppermost articles of iron had not much decayed, but of those lying deeper down only a trace remained. It was in the five-foot bed of true peat, immediately below the oak trees, that the chief find occurred; but some of the large clay urns had been sunk still deeper, by having had stones of twelve to fourteen pounds weight placed inside. It was evident that all these articles had been purposely hidden here, and had not been the result of a battle on the ice when the morass was a lake, and the ice had given way under the combatants. Not a trace of a human body was discovered. Many of the wooden articles, such as the spear-shafts, &c., were laid together; and then, again, the boards composing the shields, "*skjoldbræder*," were found laid one upon the other, and sometimes a spear-head was forced through two or three of them at once. In another spot were congregated almost all the bosses of shields; and, again, the gold ornaments were chiefly found together. Of money but little was discovered; nine coins were found close to the silver mask and headpiece that forms one of the chief marvels of the collection. The coins were of silver, and ranged from Nero to Severus (A.D. 194). Some of the weapons had been wrapped in chain armour before being deposited.

As is usually the case with those morasses that have yielded rich archaeological results in Denmark, that of Thorsbjerg lies within five hundred paces of a navigable stream. Almost all the articles deposited were in a state unfit for use, and it seems as if violence had been used to reduce them to this condition. Many of the shield bosses were injured to an extent beyond what could possibly result from the fiercest combat; the sheath of a sword was hewn across, and the one half of it was found laid across the other. Portions of ring-mail, apparently of the same "coat," were found in various clay urns at a considerable distance from each other. Hardly a single article is in an available condition, excepting a few arrows, the gold objects and the Roman silver coins. Traces, however, of having been recently used in battle appear on many of the weapons; the shafts of the lances are split and cut, and the helmets and shields are deeply indented with axe and sword strokes. Very curious, too, are the rude attempts at repairs observable on several of the articles, just such as would be attempted by the soldiers of a moving force. Not a trace of Christian art or belief is observable; but on two objects—a shield boss copied from a Roman model, and on the end of a scabbard (Pl. VIII. fig. 16; Pl. X. fig. 41)—are well marked Runic inscriptions. The letters here are neither Norse nor Anglo-Saxon, but they are such as are found on stones in South Sweden and Norway, and most especially on the celebrated inscription from Tune, now at the Royal University of Christiania, in Norway. Munch was the first to decipher this stone, and he has established that these peculiar Runes are Gothic Runes, and that the language in which they are written is the ancient Gothic tongue.

Of the Runes found at Thorsbjerg the Rev. D. Haigh has favored us with a translation. Those on the under side of the shield boss (Pl. VIII. fig. 16) form the words *AISC AH*—"Aisc owns." It will be remembered that the son of Hengist bore a similar name. On the scabbard end Mr. Haigh reads *NIWAAMARIA ONGWL THUTHEWAA*—"Niwamar of the Ongwl tribes."

The presence of these Runes in a find of the third or fourth century

of our era is a very strong proof of the art of Rune writing having been known among the northern nations long previous to the introduction of Christianity.

Among the shield bosses there are eight or nine unquestionably of Roman design, and on one of these is a Latin inscription, struck with a pointed instrument—AEL : AELIANUS. In form this *umbo* exactly resembles the bronze boss found at Matfen in Northumberland, and which was described by us in the *Archæol. Eliana*, vol. ii., N.S., p. 49. On this Northumbrian boss there is likewise an inscription struck with a pointed instrument. The last word of this is undoubtedly QVINTI, as read by Mr. Franks, and the previous letters are possibly, but not so certainly, RVSP, with the centurial mark prefixed. See Mr. Franks' Memoir in this Journal, vol. xv., p. 55. Another boss found at Thorsbjerg has likewise one or two imperfect Gothic Runes. The Roman soldiers were accustomed to inscribe the names of their leaders on the bosses of their shields.

From the perishable nature of the material it is very seldom that articles of woollen fabric have been preserved to us from such early times. In the Thorsbjerg find there is almost the entire dress of that period, viz., of the third century of our era. We know well the dresses of the Roman and Greek soldiers and citizens; but of the habiliments, warlike or otherwise, of the so-called barbarians north of the Danube we are in almost utter ignorance.

In Plate I. we have an almost entire shirt or tunic of wool. It is composed of two pieces, sewn together at the sides; and the sleeves, which are of a handsome pattern (diamond-shaped), are of a stronger material, as they were the parts most exposed to wear.

The second plate exhibits a corresponding pair of breeches or "trews," with a stocking of strong material and elegant pattern attached. The breeches were kept up by a waist-belt passing through loops, which still remain. The breeches were found rolled up, as they had been when placed in the morass. The leather sandals in Plate III. are peculiarly elegant. The fibulæ in Plate IV. are of bronze, and some of them approach closely to the Roman type.

The helmets and visors in Plate V. are of great interest. No. 1, which is only in fragments, is possibly Roman, or at least of Roman design. It is of bronze, and so likewise is the elegant serpent, No. 2. Nos. 3 and 4, however, are of silver, and evidently belong to the same head-piece, and they are placed together in their proper relative positions in the vignette on the title-page. They show no signs of Roman art; their style of workmanship is most peculiar, and has somewhat of an Eastern type. We believe that this specimen is altogether unique of its kind.

Plate VI. shows us some chain mail of beautiful workmanship, with its strap buckles, and a rich fibula. The chain mail is rivetted on every second link, and each link passes through four others. In a specimen that we possess from Norway, every link is rivetted with great skill, but we dare not affirm this to be of the same age, though it was said to have been found in a northern grave.* The bronze fibulæ here given, and in the next plate, are of the natural size, and show a certain imitation of the Roman type. That in Plate VII. was found doubled up, rolled in a portion of chain mail, and placed in a large urn. The "repoussé" figures of animals, &c., on these fibulæ were covered with thin plates of gold or silver.

The sword figured at p. 38 of the text was found at Nydam Moss. It is of iron, and the handle is of silver. The spears, bows, &c., are all more or less ornamented with silver plates, while the horse-furniture is richly adorned with both gold and silver.

We have already stated that the author regards these remains as appertaining to the third century of our era. At that time, and for some time previous, a partial though circuitous communication had been maintained between the northern tribes and the Romans on the Danube. The articles of the early part of the Iron Age exhibit strong traces of Roman design, while those of the later Iron Age show no traces of communication with that great nation, but are purely northern in character. The gold bracteates, dating from A. D. 500 to 1000, are of the rudest possible workmanship, and cannot be compared for a moment with the elegant gold or silver-plated fibulæ, the silver helmet, or the rich horse-furniture of the Thorsbjerg find. The coins discovered there enable us to fix the period of the commencement of the Iron Age, when articles of bronze were still in partial use. No coin was found later than the age of Severus, and allowing for the slowness of communication, we shall be justified in believing the Thorsbjerg weapons, &c., to have been concealed not one hundred years after the death of that Emperor. In the Thorsbjerg find we have the complete equipment of a northern soldier, both horse and foot, of the third century. The silver helmet and visor, the rich fibulæ and strap pieces, the sandals, tunic, cloak, and "trews," the chain-mail, the heavily ornamented shields, the silver-hilted swords and gold-plated scabbards, the richly "repoussé" swordbelts, of which at least one example remains, and the spears with silver nails in the shaft, all tell us what was the appearance of a northern warrior of this date. The beautiful workmanship of many of these articles, and the knowledge of the art of writing evinced by the Runic inscriptions on the scabbard and shield boss, all tell us of a refinement, of a degree of civilisation, which we should not have expected to have found amid the "barbarians" of North Germany at this early period. Is it then possible that these articles were only spoils from distant lands, from the Roman legions they encountered on the Danube, or were they the result of distant expeditions by sea. We find, however, that the same nation, whatever it may have been, has left traces of its presence in the Runic inscriptions of Tune and of South Sweden, the language and character on which stones are identical with those on the shield boss and scabbard of Thorsbjerg. It was evidently, therefore, a people settled in these lands, though possibly originally from a far southern clime—from the banks of the Danube or of the Theiss—the Gothic race, concerning the origin and history of which we have so much fable and so little reliable history. Procopius tells us of an early migration of the Goths northward to the Island of Thule, and that in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, the Goths at Belgrade having murdered their king, resolved to bring one from the far north, of the true old Gothic stock.

It would be interesting to compare the Thorsbjerg find with some of the more recent antiquities discovered in Hungary and in Turkey in Europe. It is here, we think, that traces of the old Gothic civilisation will be most likely found; it is here, too, that we may possibly discover Runic inscriptions, which will go far to corroborate the opinions advanced in this volume.

EDWARD CHARLTON.

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THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL AND MONASTERY AT WORCESTER.

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PART II.—THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS.¹

THE INFIRMARY AND ITS APPENDAGES.

BETWEEN the dormitory and the river is the house, No. 9, and on the north of it the site of No. 8. These stand in Dr. Hopkins' memorandum as "8th—9th; M^r Capellæ:" a local name for a monastic officer whose duties it is not easy to ascertain.² To the north of these houses, between the west end of the cathedral and the river, is the site of the infirmary, indicated by the house "5th, Infirmarius." No. 5 was destroyed in 1851, and No. 8 in 1843; no man recollects whether or no ancient walls or vaults were found when they were taken down.

The house No. 9 stands upon a substructure of excellent Norman rib-vaulting, of which I have given the plan. It was originally open from one end to the other, and is 70 ft. long and 13 ft. 6 in. wide, in five compartments, which opened to the ground without, by as many arches, 8 ft. 4 in. in span, resting on piers 5 ft. 6 in. thick and 5 ft. 8 in. on the face. Each pier having a buttress. Two buttresses also

¹ Continued from page 272, *ante*.

² Ducange defines him to be the one who presides over other chaplains. "*Magister capellæ, qui cæteris capellanis præest.*" Accordingly there existed in this monastery the charnel chapel already mentioned, endowed for six *capellani*, one of whom was *Magister*. But he was bound to reside in the hospitium attached to the west end of the chapel.

The *Magister capellæ* above mentioned, may, as Green suggests, have presided over the priests of the Lady chapel and infirmary chapel, to the latter of which his lodging was contiguous. As we have no record of the endowments of these chapels or of the foundations of chantries in the cathedral, it is impossible to speak with precision upon this point.

projected westward from the gable which stands on a high bank next the river.³ The east end of the building is in contact with the dormitory, and two pointed arches, one large and one small, communicated with the substructure of that building. The south wall of this building is in the same line as the dormitory wall. The vault ribs have plain chamfered edges and Norman corbels in the form of a semi-octagonal festoon capital and abacus with a short shaft below resting on a conical bracket. The transverse ribs are stilted semicircles, the diagonal segmental as usual.

In the second compartment from the east a doorway with Decorated moldings opens to a passage now walled up, so as to form a mere recess 7 feet deep from the face of the wall. This may have communicated northward with the vaults (17) about to be described, or laterally either on the right to a passage staircase in the thickness of the wall, or to the left with a turret stair of which a fragment remains above, in the position indicated by a white circle in the plan (at 19).

The vaults (17) beyond, to which access is now obtained from the adjacent house, are of a later Norman, springing from corbelled capitals of the same kind as those already described, but some of the ribs have pointed arches, and the north wall (18), more than 5 feet thick, has windows in it. These windows consist of a pair of plain-pointed lights separated by a narrow mullion. The space into which these windows opened is now filled up with earth, as is the space between the vaults shown in the plan (17) and the river, so that the original extent of this vaulting cannot be ascertained. Three compartments and one isolated pillar are open, and used as a cellar, but the series evidently extended farther west. The fourth compartment (in dotted lines in my plan) is filled with earth, so as to make it impossible to trace the end of the passage above described as leading from No. 9.

The whole house—No. 9—above its Norman vaulting, is

³ From its peculiar long and narrow form, its position with respect to the dormitory and its proximity to the river, this must have been the monastic *necessarium*, which was thus placed at Durham, and is described as a "faire large house and a most decent place, adjoyninge to the west syde

of the said dorter towards the water" (Rites of Durham, p. 72), and indeed is always contiguous to the dormitory in all the specimens of this monastic office which I have had the opportunity of examining.

of comparatively modern construction in walls, floors, and staircases, with the exception of its back or north wall, which rises to its roof, and is an ancient wall of red sandstone. The turret staircase (19) projects outwards from that wall, and reaches the roof; it is now in the form of a quadrant, and is plastered outside, but Mr. Perkins informs me that it is really of stone.

This ancient wall retains on the east side of the turret close under the roof a plain Norman arched window walled up; and on the west side the traces of a pair of arches, also walled up and partially covered by a huge brick chimney-stack built against the ancient wall.

But Green, who wrote when the house No. 8 was standing, tells us (p. 98) that "two lofty walls of the infirmary yet remain, and constitute, one, the south side of the eighth prebendal house; the other, the north side of the ninth:" from which I imagine that the south wall of No. 8 must have exhibited signs that showed its outer face to have been formerly an inside face. This is corroborated by the windows (18), which I discovered in the vaulted basement, and have just described; for the wall which contains these windows is part of the south wall of the demolished No. 8.

It is probable, therefore, that the intermediate space between Nos. 8 and 9 was occupied by a building whose roof was supported to the south by a wall close to but independent⁴ of the high wall of No. 9, and so much lower as not to interfere with the windows of the latter, above described, which appear to be placed high up for the purpose of clearing another building.

This building, being placed east and west, may have been the infirmary chapel, with an entrance and chamber for the master attached northward to the west end of the north wall; and thus the appropriation of the name, "*Magister Capellæ*," to the 8th and 9th houses would be accounted for.

THE SUB-PRIORY, REFECTORY, KITCHEN, &c.

Returning to the cloister, we observe that the sub-prior was lodged (as the house No. 3 shows) at the south end of

⁴ The thickness of the separating space between the two series of vaults at the east end, which by careful mea-

surements I ascertained to be not less than ten feet, seems to indicate that it carried two independent walls above.

the west cloister (where the door 33 is placed), and therefore in convenient contiguity with the dormitory, and close to the refectory; part of his duties being to keep order in the dormitory, to dine and sup with the convent,⁵ and to keep the keys of all the doors at night.

The refectory, which occupies the entire south wall of the cloister, is 120 feet in length, the same as the dormitory, and 38 feet wide. Building work about it was going on in 1372; the windows, five on each side, have modern flowing tracery, perhaps copied from the old tracery, and it has a modern roof.

The LAVATORY—"Laver, or Connditt, a long trough, for the Monncks to washe ther hands and faces at"⁶—is placed within two recessed arches sunk in the west cloister wall (at 34) in the two compartments north of the south angle compartment. It was thus conveniently near to the refectory. We may suppose that, as at Durham, there was a bell hung near the lavatory to give warning "at a leaven of the clock for the Monncks to cumme wash and dyne, having their closetts or almeries on either syde of the Frater House door, keapt alwaies with swete and clene towels to drie ther hands."

This lavatory was supplied with water by an aqueduct from Hilnwick Hill, distant from the cloister about 1600 yards. The conduit-pipe was first laid down in the eighth year of Henry IV., and was torn up in the Civil Wars (vide Thomas, p. 8), and the lead embezzled (vide p. 255 above).

At the south-west angle of the refectory stood the kitchen, the lower part of whose octagon walls (36) existed until the demolition of No. 7 in 1845. They were first described by Green.⁷ Spacious Norman vaults extend under the whole of the refectory, sustained by a row of central pillars, short, cylindrical, and having a circular abacus. The vaults are groined, of early Norman rough construction, and lighted by small round-headed Norman windows in the basement of

⁵ Rites of Durham, p. 73. There, however, his chamber was over the dorter door (at the west end next the church), "to the intent too heare that none should stir or go forth."

⁶ Rites of Durham, p. 70.

⁷ "THE KITCHEN.—At the back of the seventh prebendal house, which anciently belonged to the *Cocuinarius*, the remains of a spacious octagonal apartment has

lately been discovered, 34 ft. diam., and height, from the present bottom of it (above its original floor), is 11 ft. Its connection with the refectory may be traced by several divisions of covered passages directing their course towards its west end, where, under a large arch long since closed up, their common intercourse was carried on."—Green, p. 81.

the south wall, towards the outer court. These vaults were, in part at least, assigned to the cellarer, who, together with the "pittensarius," was lodged at the west side of the kitchen, as the position of the demolished No. 6 shows. Passages connecting these vaults and the refectory above with the kitchen and other offices still exist under the house No. 3.

The nature of these lodgings of the cellarer, and some of the other monastic officers, is best explained in the "Durham Rites," which show that every one of them, to whom was entrusted the receipts or expenditure of the department assigned to him, or the management of the stores supplied to or consumed in it, had a room in its appropriated buildings, in which he transacted the daily business of that department. This was termed the "scaccarium," or "checker,"⁸ of that officer. We should now call it his counting-house or his office. But these officers slept in a chamber in the dormitory or in the infirmary, and had their meat served to them from the kitchen to their checker, not dining in the refectory.

For example, at Durham, the cellarer's "office was to see what expenses was in the kitchinge, what beffes and muttones was spente in the week, and all the spyces and other necessities that was spente in the kitchinge, both for the priors table and for the hole covent, and for all strangers that came. Yt was his office to se all things orderlye served and in dewe tyme." Accordingly, his checker "joyned the west end of the great kitchinge," but the "chambre where he dyd lye was in the Dorter."⁹

Thus, the cellarer of Durham and the cellarer of Worcester were lodged in the same relative position to the kitchen; and the pitanciary, an officer not mentioned in the Durham book, but who, having the charge of the pittances from the kitchen,

⁸ Rites, p. 81, &c. Durham Household Book, pp. 126, 324.

⁹ At Durham the cellarer's checker was assigned to the fifth stall, but the house of that stall also includes the lesser refectory of the monks, part of the dormitory, and other buildings; and so at Worcester, the residence houses could never have been confined merely to the lodging of the monastic officer indicated in Dr. Hopkins' Notes. Secular canons of cathedrals, as at Wells, Salis-

bury, &c., having no common table, and not sleeping under the same roof in a common dormitory, had, even before the Reformation, separate residences, with kitchens, stables, and servants' offices, and as time went on and wives and families were introduced into the prebendal houses, these were gradually enlarged or rebuilt, so as to assume their present form of an ordinary gentleman's house.

must have had a chamber, or "checker," near it, was at Worcester also on its west side, while the *coquinarius* (or *clericus coquinae*) was placed on the south side, as the site of the seventh house shows.

THE OUTER COURT.

We will now pass to the so-called *College green*, the ancient CURIA, or outer court of the monastery.

This extends from the entrance gateway (42) now termed Edgar's Tower, but in the older documents the College gatehouse, on the east, to the water-gate (43) or ferry-house on the west.

The north side of the court is occupied in order from the east as follows: Next to the gateway is the large modern house of the tenth stall, one of those which has been retained; it stands on the site of the lodgings of the eleemosynarius or almoner, and on part of the prior's lodging. The almonry is usually next to the entrance gateway; and at Durham the "almery" building was to the north of the gate, as at Worcester.¹

Next to this was the southern extremity of the priory buildings, with an entrance (41) to them, probably a gateway-tower. The south gable of the guesten hall (39) and its porch (38) came next in order; and beyond it a large prebendal house for the fourth stall, which was pulled down in 1841. This house is in Dr. Hopkins' Notes marked "Hospitalarius,"² under which term I imagine guest chambers to be included as well as the *checker* of that officer: and these chambers may have extended in front of the gable of the guesten hall, so as to form a continuous line of building from the refectory to the gateway; but there are no remains to show their original plan.

Beyond these chambers, the cloister entrance (37), and the south side of the refectory, continue the north border of the

¹ Rites, p. 77.

² The *Hostellarius*, otherwise termed at Durham "*Terrarius*" and *Terrer*, apparently by a corruption of *Hosteler*, was "to se that the geste chamber to be clenly kept, and that all the table clothes, table napkings, and all the naprie with in the chambers, as sheetes and pillowes, to be sweate and cleane." He also provided wine for the strangers, and provender for their horses, but he

alept in the infirmary (p. 88). His "*checker* was as yea goe into the geste haule of your leftte hand, in the entrie as yow goe in, or yea come into the great hall." This is exactly his position at Worcester with respect to the guest hall. But at Durham the guest hall and chambers occupied the whole west side of the college square, instead of the north as at Worcester.

college green; and at the western end of that building the kitchen, with its offices, already mentioned, projected southward.

The second prebendal house is modern, and Dr. Hopkins' Note shows that the "*tumbarius*" had his office or residence on its site. He had the charge of the tombs and shrines of SS. Wlstan and Oswald, and was perhaps the person appointed by the bishop and convent to receive the pecuniary offerings, and divide them between those parties, in accordance with the compact of 1224.³ In other churches he was called the "*Feretrarius*."⁴

Of the ancient buildings on the south side of the College green, nothing is recorded. The name *Ovens*, still given to the house (44) at the west end of the south boundary, shows that the monastic bakehouse was there; and we may affirm, in accordance with other examples, that nearly the whole south boundary was occupied by the bakehouse, washhouse, stables, granaries, barns, malt-kiln, and such-like offices. The kitchen gardens were probably on the west boundary facing the river.

I have now only to describe the priory buildings and guesten hall, now wholly demolished, with the exception of a portion of the east wall of the latter, distinguished by the black line in the plan.

THE PRIOR'S BUILDINGS.

The only piece of recorded history relating to the building of the priory is, that, according to the Annals, in 1225 the prior built in August a new house, with its appurtenances, for himself, and finished it in December. Its rapid construction shows that it was built of wood.

³ Vide page 99 above.

⁴ "*Feretrarius*. Custos sacrarum reliquiarum in feretro reconditarum."—Dacange. Bishop Walter de Maydenston, in the first year of his consecration, is recorded to have made John de Briavel his sacrist, and Roger de Steynington tumbary, at his own palace in the Strand, March 19, 1314, and set forward to his diocese the next month.—Maydenston's Register, f. 2, ap. Thomas, p. 161.

At Durham he was called the "Maister of the Feriture," and was also deputy

prior. He was there lodged in a chamber in the dormitory (Rites of Durham, Surtees, p. 78), and was the keeper of St. Cuthbert's shrine, and of the keys thereof. There was under him a "*clarke of the fereture*," who gave notice to his master when any "*man of honour and worshippe*," disposed to make his devotion and offerings at the shrine, wished to have it uncovered and see it. Then the master came with the keys and gave them to his clerk, who opened the locks and removed the covers.

"The dean hath the prior's house," saith Dr. Hopkins, but adds afterwards that the tenth prebendary has "part of the prior's." All this latter part disappeared when the modern house of the tenth stall was built. The sketches and notes kindly submitted to me by Mr. Perkins enable me to describe and plan the deanery as it existed immediately before its demolition in 1845. It consisted of a group of buildings with separate roofs, several of them retaining architectural traces of the fourteenth and succeeding centuries, the guesten hall itself included, which formed part of the deanery house. The principal entrance (41) was from the College green, next to the south-east corner of the guesten hall, and probably in the same position as the prior's original entrance. In the plan I have indicated the principal masses of building by the letters that form the word PRIORY, to avoid the multiplication of references.

The western building⁵ (P) was of good stone architecture of the fifteenth century, and abutted against the treasury, blocking up one or more of its windows, and thus showing that it had been built after that had been finished. Part of it was in contact with the north wall of the guesten hall, which was there employed as its southern boundary. The lower floor had low rooms with plain, square-headed windows, and this was latterly employed as a granary and place for wood and coals. But the upper floor had a large room with an excellent oak-panelled ceiling of Perpendicular character. The panels were filled with plaster and painted with roses and stars. It was lighted by a large Perpendicular square plain headed window in two lights, with enriched heads and a transom. This room, of old one of the prior's chambers, was finally degraded to the purpose of a laundry.

A timber-framed structure (R), 27 ft. in length, and of the same breadth and height as the last, continued the range of buildings eastward. This covered the remaining part of the north wall of the guesten hall, and was also probably a relic of the priory.

At its east end stood a chamber (I) of stone, about 25 ft. square. The east wall of its lower story retained two flowing Decorated windows of the same character as those of the guesten hall. Its upper walls seemed to have been rebuilt,

⁵ Forty-seven ft. long and 24 ft. wide outside the walls.

or at least altered by the insertion of sash windows. On the ground floor the building was separated from the Guesten Hall by a passage which had a door (40) opening through the north end of the eastern wall of the hall to the place of the high table, and therefore formed the communication between the priory and hall. The same passage was continued round the north wall of the hall, and led directly to the wall of the chapter house, and thus, by the Norman passage described above, to the cloister, as shown by the dotted lines.

This "stone chamber" had been converted into the dean's kitchen; and the north wall covered by additional buildings of timber, employed in conjunction with the wooden buildings to the west, as sculleries and other domestic offices, with servants' bed-rooms over. The whole, like the Guesten Hall, had fallen into a hopeless state of decay.

About six yards to the south of the room (i), stood an ancient hall (R); possibly the "Aula Prioris." It was between 40 and 50 feet long, 20 wide, and had an ornamental roof of the fourteenth century, of simple construction. A sketch of this is given in the "Builder" of May 13, 1848, taken just before it was pulled down. It is there stated that this roof had a very good effect. The hall was entirely built of timber-work.⁶

The interior of this hall had been fitted up with modern floors and partitions, so as to include the ordinary dining-room and drawing-room of the deanery on the ground, and the best bed-rooms above. The latter had Perpendicular panelled ceilings of good character. Modern sash windows had been inserted, and the ancient character of the exterior destroyed, with the exception of the barge board of the roof. The oriel (shown in Storer's sketch) was probably a modern bow window. This hall was joined to the stone room (i) by an intermediate construction (o), of the character of which no notes remain.

THE GUESTEN HALL.

We may now turn to the Guesten Hall. A guests' hall, or *Domus Hospitum*, for the entertainment of strangers,

⁶ The dimensions of this hall agree with those of the "Spital for lodging Pilgrims" mentioned in Dr. Hopkins' Notes (vide Appendix), and perhaps this may have been its traditional name preserved at the time when the writer

quoted by Hopkins lived. The Perpendicular ceilings show that its original open roof had been concealed by alterations, but probably after the dissolution of the monastery.

with adjacent chambers and lodgings for their accommodation, is an integral part of a monastery. It was under the management of the hospitalarius. The house was also sometimes called the *Hostrie*. It even occurs in the plan of S. Gall in the seventh century, in the form of a large refectory, surrounded by chambers for the guests.

In the words of the "Durham Rites" ⁷—"The haule is a goodly brave place, much like unto the body of a church, with verey fair pillers supporting yt on ether syde, and in the mydest of the haule a most large ranng for the fyer. The chambers and lodgings belonging to yt weare swetly kept, and so richly furnyshed that they weare not unpleasant to ly in. The victualls that served the said geists, came from the great kitching of the prior, the bread and beare from his pantrie and seller. . . . The prior, whose hospitallie was soch as that there neaded no geist haule did keppe a moste honorable house and very noble intertaynement, being attended upon both with gentlemen and yeomen of the best in the countrie, as the honorable service of his house deserved no less."

The guesten hall of a monastery has, in itself, no ecclesiastical character, and is merely the dining hall of its period, the same in form and arrangement as if it had been part of a dwelling-house, a college, a palace, or belonged to a city corporation. Its interest lies in the evidence of the secular form of profuse and luxuriant entertainment which the monks offered and exhibited to strangers, in contact and contrast with the affected frugality and plainness of their own neighbouring refectory.

A guest hall and chambers at Worcester are mentioned in 1300, where the annalist relates that upon occasion of the archbishop's visitation, he was lodged with his attendants in the prior's hall (*aula prioris*), because the great hall and the house of the guests were occupied by many unbidden visitors.⁸ This must have been an earlier hall than the one that lately existed, for it is recorded, in one of the notes of Dr. Hopkins from the monastic records, that—"In 1320 Wulstan de Braunston, prior, built the great hall, commonly called *gesten hall*." De Braunston was prior from Nov. 21,

⁷ P. 76.

⁸ 'Quia magna aula hospitum et domus

alise fuerunt occupate per multos hospites non vocatos."—Ann. Wig., 528.

1317, to 1338, when he was elected to the bishopric, and died in 1349.

The remains of this building which had reached our time were sufficient to enable its original form to be determined, and showed it to have been a very fine specimen of its kind ; and although it has now disappeared, its details have been carefully preserved by several artists.⁹ It stood north and south, and was, according to Mr. Dollman's measurements, 65 ft. 8 in. long, by 35 ft. 11 in. wide. Its walls were 36 ft. 8 in. in height from the floor to the top of the wall-plate. In fact, in walls, it was very nearly as wide as it was high, and its length not quite double its width. The masonry of its remaining north end wall was only carried to the level of the wall-plate. The gable above this was of wood framing, with foliated openings to let out smoke. The south gable was probably similar, but had been completely destroyed by the changes at that end. There were traces of a louvre in the middle of the roof for smoke ; on the floor under this the brasier stood, as at Durham, and according to the method retained even to our own day, at St. John's and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge.

The principal frames of the roof were of a very low pitch, and of simple design, with a collar beam and arched braces below, having no other ornament than a bold molding on the lower edges. Two diagonal braces above the collar beam were so notched at the edges as to form with similar notches in the principal rafters a large complete quatrefoil opening, flanked on each side by trefoiled arch-heads. Each frame was received upon a short respond shaft rising from a corbel.

More ornament was bestowed upon the under surface of the roof between the frames. This, besides richly molded purlins, had arched braces carved with complex foliation and quatrefoil spandrels.¹

There were five windows on each side of the hall, descending, with three exceptions, to within five or six feet of the floor, and all rising nearly to the wall-plates. Two of

⁹ The most complete architectural drawings preserved are those of Mr. Dollman, in his *Analysis of Domestic Architecture*. Mr. Eginton, of Bath, published years ago a perspective restored view of the interior.

¹ The roof of the hall of the manor house, South Wraxhall, is ornamented with a somewhat similar pattern. Vid. pl. 14, Walker's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, part 3.

these windows at the north end of the east wall were very short, by reason of part of the prior's buildings, which abutted against the wall at this place. A door (40), as already explained, below these windows gave access to this external building. The third short window was over the south-west porch door.* A buttress was placed between each window, and also at each angle.

The mechanical structure of the hall was extremely bad. The principal frames of the roof, from their low pitch and general construction, exerted a great pressure outward, which might have been effectually counteracted had the buttresses been placed opposite to the frames. But the roof was divided by its principal frames into eight compartments, and the walls by their buttressed windows into five compartments. Consequently the frames pressed against the intermediate walls, weakened by the lofty windows, and not one of them against a buttress.

This want of harmony between the arrangement of the frames and windows was manifested to the eye by the short shafts and corbels above-mentioned, the shafts being cut longer or shorter, and their corbels placed at different levels, according as they happened to fall over the head of a window, or more or less on one side of it. This ungraceful and clumsy expedient was probably forced upon the original constructors by the absence of a proper understanding between the masons who built the walls and the carpenters who made the roof. But it will doubtless find its admirers and imitators in the asymmetrical school of antiquarian students. The tracery of the windows is flowing. There are two lights, and the principal lines in the head of the window are disposed in that common pattern which represents a trefoil, of which the central leaf is upright, and the lateral ones inclined to right and left. These three leaves are filled in with flowing tracery by a subordinate molding, the pattern of which is exactly the same in character, and in many parts identical with, the rose window of Lincoln cathedral.² Mr. Dollman has introduced a transom into his drawings of the windows. But for this there is no authority.

² Engraved in the Oxford Glossary, 4th ed. pl. 264. Of the nine windows only three retained any portion of tracery. These are in the portion of wall which has been preserved, and are

on the east side, where the first on the north was perfect, the second had a fragment, and the last some decayed portions only.

The dais, or place of the principal table, was at the north end, and the entrance at the south end by a lateral western porch (38). In accordance with the usual arrangement of college halls, we may suppose the southern end wall, which was entirely destroyed and rebuilt in the last century, to have been furnished with doors leading to a kitchen, butteries, &c.

This hall seems to have been included in the dean's portion at the Reformation ; but we have no record of the use to which it was put at first, and can only judge from the condition in which it was found in our time, that it underwent a thorough transformation in the middle of the last century, when it was fitted up as part of the dean's house, and divided, by the insertion of two floors, into three storeys, like the guessten hall, now the deanery, of Ely, and many other monastic halls. The south gable wall was rebuilt from the ground, and the old roof above it hipped back, so as to allow the new south wall to be capped with a straight parapet. The front was ornamented with Gothic plaster work in the Batty Langley, or Horace Walpole style, which would place it about 1740. A small engraving in Green's "Worcester" preserves the aspect of this building under the name of the audit hall.

The three storeys were divided in the following manner (*vide plan*). A large door (39) in the centre of the new front was the chief entrance. This led to a passage which extended from one end of the building to the other. Three doors, on the right hand, in succession, opened into a large kitchen for the dean, looking into the College green, a servants' hall, and a coalhouse. The north wall of this kitchen was part of a transverse wall which rose to the top of the building, and had a stack of chimneys in it. On the left hand of the passage were doors opening to various domestic offices, to a brewhouse, and also to a staircase which led upward to the great dining-room. All these apartments were included within the walls of the old hall.

On the first floor was this great dining-room, which extended entirely across the old hall, and was 36 ft. in length by 24 ft. wide. It bore the name of the audit hall, and had three large round-headed sash windows looking into the court. It was bounded to the north by the transverse wall just mentioned. This room was used for the annual

audit dinners of the chapter till within the last five years, and it is to this room that Green alludes when speaking of the guesten or audit hall. He adds, that "the building is still sacred to hospitality, and the noble entertainments furnished here at the annual audits do honour to one of the most eminent capitular bodies." The remaining space of the first floor was appropriated to bedrooms, and there were garrets fitted up in the old roof above them.

Great attention has been directed to this hall by the futile attempts of certain antiquaries to obtain from the dean and chapter its preservation from the fate to which the deanery and the house on the west of the hall had been consigned. Had circumstances permitted, it would have been very desirable that a building so remarkable, and, at first sight, apparently so nearly in its original condition, retaining its roof, its walls, and windows, should have been cleared of the intrusive floors, chimneys, and partitions, and restored as a monument of antiquity. But unhappily it turned out, after a careful investigation by competent architects, employed by the capitular body, that the structure was in such a desperate state of ruin and decay, that it was only held together by the very partitions and floors, the removal of which was essential to the restoration desired. In fact, it must have been in a threatening condition when they were inserted. The restoration, therefore, would have absorbed a greater portion of the resources of the chapter than would have been justified by the object, especially considering that the all-important work of re-arranging and decorating the choir of the newly-restored cathedral, and repairing the cloister and chapter house remained to be done.³

If the building had been restored, and left as an empty

³ Mr. Christian, the architect of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, made a survey at the request of the chapter, in which he estimated the cost of merely clearing the interior of its floors and partitions, repairing the walls and buttresses, securing the roof, restoring the tracery and mullions of the windows, together with plain glazing and plain stone paving for the floor, at 1760*l.*, and the restoration of the west porch at 300*l.* This supposes the south front and its hipped roof to remain untouched, and no cleansing of the interior, warming it, or otherwise fitting it for the reception of public meetings to be made. Mr.

Perkins, the chapter architect, made a similar estimate (*Gent. Mag.*, 1860, vol. ii.).

This estimate was communicated to the antiquarian public by Mr. Christian, in a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, dated July 26, 1860. He also stated that the building was the sole property of the Dean and Chapter, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had nothing whatever to do with it; that the Dean and Chapter had no funds wherewith to meet the expense of repairing or restoring it; also that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had no power to appropriate the money set apart for cathedral repairs to this purpose. In short, that

hall, its future preservation and repair could only have been ensured by appropriating it to some useful purpose, under the sanction of the chapter, who themselves had no use for it. But it was, in truth, extremely difficult to select any employment consistent with its peculiar position, being, as it was, the property of the chapter, within their private precincts, and close to the cathedral.

The result was, that notwithstanding the exaggerated general and local interest so confidently ascribed to the guesten hall by the promoters of its restoration, they were unable to agree upon any decided principle of action, and failed to raise a sum at all approaching to that required for the restoration.

The dean and chapter, finding that there was no chance of external assistance for this purpose, presented the roof of the hall to a new district church, and pulled down the walls, leaving, as a picturesque and permanent ruin, the only portion that had retained its architectural character, by having preserved its tracery. This, in truth, was the wisest thing to do. The degradation of the building had proceeded so far that in its restoration it would, after all, have presented the trim appearance of a modern copy of the original, deprived of its interest as an historical monument. Such being the case, the guesten hall may yet be reproduced by its admirers with equal effect by erecting such a copy upon another site.

APPENDIX.

In Baker's MS. vol. iii. (Harl. MS. 7030) p. 469, we find the following heading—"Ecclesiæ Wigorn. Priorum Catalogus ex Registris et aliunde collectus. Ex MS^o Codice Willelmi Hopkins, Ecclesiæ Wigorn: Canonici, in custodiâ doctiss: viri Joannis Laughton, Canonici ejusdem Ecclesiæ."

This is followed by other lists and notes, occupying the pages up to p. 479, where we have "*Some memorials relating to the Cathedral Church of Worc:*" which are continued on p. 480.

The next page is headed "In eodem Codice habentur Statuta Ecclesiæ Cath: Wigorn. tradita ab Henrico Octavo Jul. 31, an. 1544." This shows that Baker has been all along copying from the manuscript of Dr. Hopkins mentioned at p. 469.⁴ I will now give a transcript of the pages headed—

"*Some memorials relating to the Cathedral Church of Worc:*—

The length at present 394 feet, 131 yards $\frac{3}{4}$, built by Oswald and afterwards taken down and repaired as far as the first cross Aisle by Wulstan.

unless the public came forward with subscriptions for the work, it must of necessity be numbered amongst the

things of the past.

⁴ Dr. Will. Hopkins, born 1647, Prebendary 1675, died 1700 (Green, 103).

The Quire antiently extended westwards to y^e 2^d: Pillar below the Bellfrey.

Wulstan de Braunston, Prior, built the Great Hall, commonly called Gesten Hall, 1320.

The Refectory and Cloyster built 1372 /. John Lyndsey, Sacrist, the Tower or Belfry 1374 /.

The Stone Vault over the Quire under y^e Belfry and over S^t Thomas's Altar, 1376 /.

The Vault over y^e nave of y^e church, y^e Library, Treasury, and Dormitory, W^m Cellerer, 1377.

The Water-gate, W^m Poer, Cellerer, 1378. / The Infirmary and Stalls in y^e Quire, W^m Cellerer, 1379 /. The West Window, 1380 /. John Lyndsey, Sacrist, the north Porch of the church, 1386.

Most of these great buildings were in the time of Henry Wakefield, Bp: of Worc: and Treasurer of England, who was made Bp: an: 1375, and dy'd an: 1394. Probably the Prior and Convent were but surveyors under the Bp.

The Base of the leaden Steeple was octangular, the walls 10 foot thick and 60 foot high. The spire of lead was 150 high, and levell with the top of S^t Andrews Steeple w^{ch} is 77 yards high.

Of the Leaden Spire or Old Belfrey.

Before the building of the Tower it was the Belfrey, The figure of the Base 8 sided. The height of y^e Stone work was 60 foot, viz: equall to the battlement of the church. The Diameter of the Base is 61 foot, and y^e thickest of y^e wall 10 foot.

On the Base stood a leaden Spire 50 yards high, and the Cock levell to that of S^t Andrews, but S^t Andrews standing on the lower ground, is somewhat higher. The leaden spire was in height from y^e ground 70 yards, and S^t Andrews 77.

The Timber was not sawed, all of Irish Oake, wrought with the Axe only. The Bells but 5, but probably equall to those of York, of w^{ch} y^e biggest was 6600 weight.^s

The Dormitory was 120 foot long and 60 wide, supported by 5 large Stone Pillars. It was on the west side y^e Cloyster, at first an open Roome, but after y^e Monks had y^e Cells divided.

The Lavatory in the Cloyster was supply'd from a Spring in Hiawick, and the water conveyed in Pipes over y^e Bridge, in consideration whereof the Prior and Convent consented to y^e bearing y^e Mace in y^e Sanctuary and S^t John's.

Mr. Tomkins says, there were a Prior and 100 monks; sed quære.

Prior, Subprior, Sacrist, Tumbarius, M^r Capellæ, Hospitalarius, Cellarius, Camerarius, Pittensarius, Coquinarius, Infirmary, Eleemosynarius.

^s At the meeting of the Worcester Diocesan Society in 1857 (vide Ecclesiologist, p. 58), Sir T. Winnington read a paper on the "Clochium," or leaden steeple, quoting a manuscript in his possession, "Observations on Worcester-shire, by Mr. Nathaniel Tomkins," evidently the source whence Dr. Hopkins derived his above description of the Clochium. (I supply the following additional extracts).

"It was placed so near the church that there was only space between for processions. Leaden steeple was taken and sold 1647, for 617*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*, the principal part of which was given to repair several churches in the county damaged in the Civil War. In a pen and ink drawing of the cathedral, executed c. 1670, in the Dineley MSS., the basement of this tower is represented in only one storey."

PALACE GROUNDS

CHURCH YARD

RIVER SEVERN

INFIRMARY

CATHEDRAL

DORMITORY

CLOISTER

CHAPTER HOUSE

REFECTORY

COLLEGE GREEN

— Existing Walls of Monastic Buildings.
 --- Destroyed Walls of do do
 — Block Plans of Existing Buildings.
 ... do do of Destroyed Buildings.

Scale of Feet.

PLAN OF THE
 Monastic Remains at Worcester.

The Dean hath the Priors House, First Prebendary, y^e Sacrista, 2^d : the Tumbary, 3 : the Sub priors, 4th : Hospitalarius, 5th : Infirmary, 6th : Pittensarius, & p^t of y^e Cellarer, 7th : Coquinarius, 8th — 9th M^r Capellæ, 10th : Eleemosynary and part of the Priors.

The Spittall for lodging Pilgrims was 50 foot long x 20 wide.”

It is uncertain when Bp: Giffard did adorn y^e Quire with Marble Pillars. If near y^e beginning, it might be 100 years before Bp: Wakefield, who was consecrated an : 1375 : If in y^e end of his life it might be scarce 80 years. Bp. Giffard dy'd Jan. 26, 130½, and was consecrated an : 1268, about September : / The fire an : 1113 destroyd only the roofoe of y^e Church, so that the low Saxon Monuments might escape.

Pitensarius was not Penitentiary, but pitanciarum sive ferculorum lautiorum Dispensator in Anniversariis Benefactorum.

Cellerarius non habuit curam Camerarum, sed Camerarius.⁶

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAN OF THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS.

In this plan the thick black lines indicate walls of the monastic buildings which still stand, either to their full height or partially. The parallel lines of the same width show the sites of such walls as can be determined by foundations or other evidence. Modern walls are shown, where necessary, by double lines very near together. The plan of the cathedral is given already in detail in Fig. 1, it is, therefore, here indicated in outline merely. A is the north porch; B, Jesus chapel; C, north transept; D, small north transept; E, east end of the old vestries.

The sites of all the old prebendal houses as they stood, up to the year 1841, are indicated by large numerals corresponding to the respective numbers of the old prebends, and therefore to Dr. Hopkins' memorandum, according to which the site of 2 was originally occupied by the *Tumbary*; that of 3 by the *Subprior*; of 4 by the *Hospitalarius*; of 5 by the *Infirmary*; of 6 by the *Pittensarius and Cellarer*; of 7 by the *Coquinarius*; of 8 and 9 by the *Magister Capellæ*; and finally that of 10 by the *Eleemosynarius*, and by part of the Prior's lodging. Of these houses, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 10, which are bounded by a continuous line and shaded, are retained, and Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, bounded by a dotted outline, have been pulled down since 1841. The dotted outline is also employed for monastic buildings of which the sites only are known.

11. The charnel vault below the surface of the ground, p. 259.
12. The site of the hospitium of its priests, p. 259.
13. The site of the sacrist's lodging and subsequently of the first stall, pp. 123-4.
14. Site of the leaden steeple or clocherium, p. 259.
15. Covered passage which connected it to the church, shown in Hollar's engraving.
16. Site of St. Michael's church, pulled down in 1842.
- 17, 18, 19. Vaults of the buildings Nos. 8 and 9, p. 301.

⁶ In these three places I omit matter irrelevant to my subject.

20. Ruined fragment of the south wall of the dormitory sub-vaults, probably belonging to the common house, p. 269.
21. This dotted line shows the position of steps now concealed, indicating the change of level in the original pavement of the sub-vaults, due to the gradual slope of the ground from the cloister wall to the edge of the bank above the river.
22. Large handsome doorway from the cloister to the sub-vaults, p. 271.
23. Small door ditto, ditto.
- 24, 25. Doorways connecting the sub-vaults with 26, the Norman passage, which led from the cloister to the infirmary, the former also opening to the Dormitory staircase in the thickness of the wall, p. 271.
27. This double line shows the position of a traceried rib, which crosses the cloister vault (vide p. 262). A similar one is placed at 30.
- 28, 29. Norman-vaulted passage, occupying the same position as the "Parler" at Durham and the Slype at Winchester. It serves as a communication from the cloister to the monks' cemetery on the south and east sides of the cathedral, and to the priory, p. 264.
30. The traceried rib corresponding to 27.
31. Norman-vaulted passage, which gave entrance to the cloister from the outer court of the monastery, now the "College-green," by the ornamented Norman doorway 37, p. 264.
32. Cloister door of the refectory.
33. Cloister door to the sub-prior's apartment and other offices.
34. The lavatory.
35. Door from the refectory leading to the kitchen.
36. Site of the kitchen.
37. Norman doorway of the cloister from the outer court.
38. Site of the porch of the Guesten-hall.
39. West wall of the Guesten-hall.
- 39, 40. The site of the Guesten-hall. Of this building the portion of wall shaded black, and containing three windows, and the door 40, which led from the high table to the priory, is retained as a permanent ruin.
41. Entrance from the outer court to the priory. The separate letters of the word PRIORY serve also to indicate in order the different portions of which it consisted.
- p, a stone building of the fifteenth century.
- n, a timber-framed building.
- i, a stone chamber with windows in the style of the Guesten-hall.
- o, a connecting piece of building.
- n, an ancient hall of timber of the fourteenth century.
- y, a part of the priory included in the site of No. 10, whose prebendary is said to have occupied a part of the prior's lodging.
42. The entrance gateway of the college, termed Edgar's tower.
43. The ferry gate-house. Of this, the only ancient part is the actual gateway, with its vault, of the fifteenth century, plain, and now denuded of its ribs.
44. This site still bears the name of the Ovens, apparently preserving to us the site of the ancient bakehouse of the monastery.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PAINTED GLASS IN THE EAST WINDOW
OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.—(Continued.)

By CHARLES WINSTON.

THE Heraldry to which allusion has been made consists of the eight shields in the Wings of the window, all which upon a careful examination I believe to be *in situ*; and of ten coats in the Centre lights. Of the last, those numbered 57, 62, 68, and 69 may be discarded, as being plainly of later date than the rest of the glazing. The difficulty has been to determine the originality of the remaining six coats. I have arrived at the conclusion that of these only two, Nos. 60 and 70, form part of the original series, Nos. 58, 61, and 67, belonging to an earlier period, and No. 59 to a different set. But, as it is impossible to express in writing those trifling peculiarities which distinguish dates in painted glass, I must request the reader who may be disposed to dissent from my opinion, to suspend his judgment until he shall have actually examined the glass himself.

53. *Gu.* a lion rampant *or*; Richard Earl of Arundel. This shield may be regarded as a fair type of the eight shields in the Wing lights. These shields are nearly of the same size, varying in length from $13\frac{1}{4}$ in. to 14 in., and in breadth from $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 11 in. They are on panels, each panel having a white diapered ground, except No. 66, the ground of which is light blue diapered; a change of colour apparently dictated by the white field of the shield. A small ornament, as before mentioned, was inserted in the lower part of each of the lights. Those now remaining are, in Nos. 53 and 66 a double triangle; in 54 three white, and in 56 three green leaves conjoined; in 57 a double square; in 62 a double rose; in 63 a figure on a red ground striking at a ball with a crooked stick; and in No. 64 a triangle interwoven with a trefoil.

54. *Gu.* a chevron (lost, but probably) *arg.* between ten crosses patty *arg.*; Thomas Lord Berkeley.

55. *Gu.* a fess between seven cross crosslets *or*; Thomas Earl of Warwick.

56. This shield, which is upon a panel, is wholly made up of fragments, amongst which may be observed part of a narrow bend *arg.* charged with three mullets pierced *gu.* now placed in pale; and also some fragments on a diapered

blue field. The material used seems to be of the same date precisely as the original glazing of the window. I am therefore disposed to think that the shield to which the charge belongs was one of the original series, and the Northampton coat, *az.* on a bend *arg.* between two cotises and six lions rampant *or* three mullets *gu.*; ¹ William Earl of Northampton.

57. *Arg.* two bendlets indented *gu.* and *vert*; Ruyhall.² This shield, which is not on a panel, is $15\frac{1}{4}$ in. long and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad, and therefore considerably exceeds any of the panelled shields in size. It also greatly differs from them in shape. The texture of its glass, the presence of *smooth* ruby, the style of its diaper, the tenderness and want of precision of the painted lines concur in indicating a date as late probably as 1385. It clearly forms no part of the original glazing.

58. *Gu.* three lions passant guardant in pale *or*; King of England. This shield, which is not on a panel, is only 13 in. long and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad, and is therefore considerably smaller than the panelled shields. The lions are drawn in a much earlier style than those in Nos. 60 and 70, after described, from which and the circumstance that the coat is neither differenced nor quartered with France, I conclude that it is of an earlier date by several years than the panelled shields.

59. Quarterly, 1 and 4, *az.* semy of lis *or*, 2 and 3, England (now lost and replaced with modern glass representing *or* a bend *az.*); King of England. This shield, which is not on a panel, is $14\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and 11 in. broad, and is therefore sensibly larger than the panelled shields. The glass may be of the same date as the original part of the window, but the size of the shield, and the different character of the fleurs-de-lis, as compared with those in Nos. 60 and 70, strongly incline me to the belief that the coat is not one of the original series.

60. Quarterly, 1 and 4, *az.* semy of lis *or*, 2 and 3, three lions passant guardant in pale *or*, a label *arg.*; Edward the Black Prince. This shield, which is not on a panel, is

¹ The same coat formerly existed in the east window of Longdon Church, Staffordshire. In the Gloucester example, the eye or piercing of the mullets is denoted by a small black ring; in the

Longdon, if I remember right, it was shown by a black dot.

² See Nash's Worcestershire, vol. p. 86.

13½ in. long, and 11 in. broad, and therefore agrees in size with a panelled shield. The lions and fleurs-de-lis are drawn in precisely the same style as those in No. 70. And the texture of the glass is identical with that of the original part of the window. I think it is one of the original coats. The quarterings of England are formed of plain pieces of yellow pot-metal glass, on which the lions are painted in outline. Another example of this very common practice of simplifying glazier's work is afforded by No. 63.

61. *Gu.* three lions passant guardant *or* a bend *az.*; Henry of Lancaster.³ This shield, which is not on a panel, is only 12½ in. long and 10 in. broad, and is therefore considerably smaller than the panelled shields. The lions are drawn in a decidedly earlier style than those in Nos. 60 and 70, and precisely resemble those in No. 67. I think that the glass may be put as early as 1310 or 1315, and therefore that it forms no part of the original glazing.

62. This shield, which is not on a panel, is made up of a coat clearly of the fifteenth century, which exhibits the instruments of the Passion, and partly of fragments added to make it of the same size as the other shields.

63. Quarterly, 1 and 4, barry *arg.* and *az.* an orle of martlets *gu.* 2 and 3, — a maunche —; Laurence, or John, E. of Pembroke.⁴ The Hastings' quarterings (properly, *or* a maunche *gu.*) are formed of pieces of pot-metal yellow glass, on which the maunche is drawn in outline. In the third quartering the field is smeared over with brown paint.

64. *Gu.* a lion rampant and bordure engrailed *or*; Gilbert, or Richard, Lord Talbot.

³ If I am right in my supposition as to the date of this coat, it would be that of Henry, son of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, borne during the lifetime of his brother, Thomas Earl of Lancaster, who was executed in 1321. See *Archaeological Journal*, x. p. 329.

⁴ This very early example of two coats borne quarterly, viz., Valence and Hastings, deserves a passing notice. The grandson of Earl Laurence is commonly said to have been the first English subject that bore such a coat. John de Hastings, the grandfather of Earl Laurence, married one of the sisters and coheirresses of Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and died in 1313, leaving by her a son, John, his heir, who died

in 1325, leaving Laurence, his son and heir, an infant. Being one of the coheirs of the last Earl, he was declared Earl of Pembroke by Edward III., while in Flanders, in October, 1339, which was a short time before that king quartered France and England. The Earl appears to have soon followed this example, and he placed the arms of Valence, like those of France, in the first and fourth quarters, as the more honourable coat. A yet earlier example of a quarterly coat borne by an English subject occurs in the roll of arms, t. Ed. II., that of Sir Simon de Montagu, being in modern blazon first and fourth *arg.* a dance (or fess fassily) *gu.*; second and third *arg.* a griffin *or*.

65. *Gu.* a chevron *erm.* between ten crosses patty *arg.*; Sir Maurice de Berkeley.

66. *Arg.* on a quarter *gu.* a rose *or*; Thomas Lord Bradeston.

67. *Gu.* three lions passant guardant *or* a label of France; Thomas Earl of Lancaster.⁵

This shield, which is not on a panel, is only 13 in. long and 10½ in. broad, and is therefore considerably smaller than the panelled shields. The lions are drawn in precisely the same style as those in No. 61, with which coat the present seems coeval. It clearly forms no part of the original series.

68. Quarterly, 1 and 4, *az.* semy of lis *or*, 2 and 3, *gu.* three lions passant guardant in pale *or*, a label of three points *arg.* each point charged with as many (circles in outline hatched with dark lines, a common way of representing) *torteaux*; Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, 1385—1402.

This shield, which is not on a panel, agrees in character in every respect with the date above indicated, and clearly forms no part of the original series.

69. France and England quarterly; King of England.

This shield, which is not on a panel, is of the same date as the last, and forms no part of the original series.

70. *Gu.* three lions passant guardant *or* a label of France; Henry Earl of Lancaster.⁶ This shield, which is not on a panel, has lost part of its upper edge; but if completed, it would be of the same size as one of the paneled shields. The lions and fleurs-de-lis are drawn in the same style and the glass is of the same character as that in No. 60. I believe it is one of the original coats.

The date which I should feel obliged to assign to the glass painting in this window, upon a consideration of its style and execution irrespectively of the heraldry, would be some time between 1340 and 1350.⁷

⁵ See note to No. 61.

⁶ He was only son of the Henry of Lancaster, whose coat I have supposed No. 61 to be, and who was restored as Earl of Lancaster in 1327. He succeeded his father as Earl of Lancaster in 1345, and was created Duke of Lancaster in 1351, having been previously created Earl of Derby in 1337.

⁷ A consideration of the style and supposed date of other painted windows

would render it difficult to assign to the Gloucester glass a date later than 1350. Indeed, the difference of style between it and the glass in the west window of Winchester Cathedral is so marked as to make me desirous to put the one as early, and the other as late, as probability will allow. I have reason to think that the Winchester glass is the work of Bishop Edington, who died in 1366 (see notice of the painted glass at Winchester

I propose now to inquire what more precise date is indicated by these coats of arms. For this purpose we must devote our attention exclusively to the original coats. Of these, which were fourteen in number, it has been shown that there are ten remaining, viz., those of the Black Prince; Henry, Earl of Lancaster; Richard, Earl of Arundel; Thomas, Lord Berkeley; Thomas, Earl of Warwick; William, Earl of Northampton; Lawrence, or John, Earl of Pembroke; Gilbert, or Richard, Lord Talbot; Sir Maurice de Berkeley; and Thomas Lord Bradeston; and that all these are *in situ*, except those of the Black Prince and the Earl of Lancaster. Of the four missing coats no doubt that of Edward III. (France and England quarterly) was one. Yet it is evident that this was not a group of the arms of the king and princes of the blood, and the nobles allied to them, in the latter part of the reign of that sovereign, such as occurs occasionally. Nor was it a group of the arms of families in the county, or of any family and its alliances; nor is there any reason to suppose that they were the arms of some of the principal benefactors to the abbey; nor is it likely that these noblemen would have joined in presenting this window, and on that account have had their arms placed in it. They are, in fact, the arms of a prince and certain noblemen renowned for military talent and bravery, who distinguished themselves in the wars in France under Edward III.; and their coats were in all probability displayed in this window to do them honour, or to commemorate companionship in arms.⁸ Let us then proceed to ascer-

in Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, at their meeting there in 1845, p. 3). The style of this glass is transitional, but it partakes much more of the character of the glazing in New College Chapel, Oxford, which probably was put up between 1379 and 1386 (see 9 Archaeological Journal, p. 46), than of the Gloucester glass. The more exact date, 1347 or 1348, which the heraldry enables us to assign to the Gloucester window, is in most strict accordance with probability, nor is it inconsistent with any of the ascertained dates of the building. It may be conceded that the East window was already glazed when Abbot Horton's work (consisting of the interior fittings of the choir, see Professor Willis' sketch of the History of Gloucester Cathedral, Archaeological

Journal, vol. xvii., p. 336) was begun, in 1368. To my learned friend Mr. W. S. Walford my best acknowledgments are due for the assistance he has afforded me in dealing with the heraldic question involved in the window.

⁸ In the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll, we learn from two witnesses of the Hastings family examined 10 Rich. II., that their grandfather had, sixty years before, placed in a window in his own chapel the coat of Geoffrey le Scrope, because they had been fellow-soldiers. The coats of other friends may have been there also, but the object of the examination required only the mention of the Scrope arms. A more singular mode of manifesting friendship by means of heraldry appears in the evidence of the Prior of Merton, examined in the

tain what we may infer from these escutcheons as to the time when this glass was executed.

John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, succeeded his father Lawrence in 1348, when only about a year old; we may therefore confidently assume that this coat would not have been placed in this window in compliment to the son as early as 1362, for he was then a boy of not more than fifteen years of age. To a later date the heraldry cannot with any probability be referred, because in the year last mentioned the arms of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and also those of William Earl of Northampton, had been discontinued; for the former died in 1361 without issue male; and the latter died in 1360, and his son and heir became in the year following the head of the family, by succeeding his uncle in the earldom of Hereford; when he no doubt ceased to bear this differenced coat, which had been his father's. Add to which, Thomas Lord Bradeston had died in 1360, leaving an infant grandson his heir. We must therefore go back to 1348, or a trifle earlier, when Lawrence de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, was living. Very little farther back can we go, because the Black Prince was only ten years old in 1340, and was not knighted till 1346. It is therefore highly probable that this glass, if it were not executed in 1347 or 1348, was designed or ordered then, and executed within a year or two after.

It appears that we have in the window a group of the arms of some of the heroes in the campaign of 1346-7, which is famous for the victory at Cressy, and the successful siege of Calais. The Black Prince, as is well known, commenced his glorious career at Cressy. He led the first division, being assisted by the Earls of Warwick and Oxford; the second was under the command of the Earls of Arundel and Northampton; and the third was commanded by the king in person. Thomas Lord Berkeley, his brother, Sir Maurice de Berkeley, Richard Lord Talbot, and Thomas Lord Bradeston, who were all in that expedition,⁹ were probably among the combatants as bannerets, though I find no special mention of them on that occasion.

same year. Sir Alexander de Neville, an uncle of the then Lord Neville, had a surcoat or jupon (*cote d'armes*) embroidered with his own arms, and all the quarters filled with small escutcheons of

the arms of his friends. His arms were *gu. a saltier arg. a martlet sa.* Roll t. Edw. III., edited by Sir H. Nicolas.

⁹ Barnes' History of Ed. III., p. 340 *et seq.*, and Dugdale's Baronage.

The Earl of Lancaster was not at Cressy; he had been sent to Guienne, and was besieged in Aiguillon by the Duke of Normandy; for the relief of which place was originally destined the army that landed in Normandy, and fought at Cressy, and very soon afterwards invested Calais. With that earl was Lawrence, Earl of Pembroke, who had already acquired a great military reputation for so young a man. One effect of the victory at Cressy was the raising of the siege of Aiguillon; and these two earls, after some raids in the south of France, returned to England, and a few months afterwards joined the king before Calais.¹

The siege of that town, which commenced in September, 1346, continued till the 4th of August, 1347. It was there that, in the latter year, Sir Maurice de Berkeley was killed. In the following year the Earl of Pembroke died, being little more than thirty years of age. The cause of his death I have not found mentioned; possibly it was some malady induced by exertion and exposure at the siege. It is not improbable that the three missing coats (in addition to the royal arms) were those of the Earls of Oxford, Hereford, and Huntingdon, who all held important commands in the campaign. Although Sir Maurice de Berkeley and the Earl of Pembroke may have been dead before this glass painting was executed, it would have been quite natural under the circumstances to have included their coats in commemoration of them, whether we suppose the window to have been presented by one of their fellow-soldiers, or put up by the abbot and convent.

It will be observed that the barons whose arms are displayed, were not the most distinguished of those who were at Cressy or Calais; but they and Sir Maurice de Berkeley were all more or less connected with the county of Gloucester; Lord Talbot having, as it would seem, only one manor within it. The Earl of Pembroke held numerous lordships in the adjoining marches of Wales.

¹ The urgent summons for these two earls and others to go to the king's assistance may be seen in Rymer (new ed.), iii. p. 120. No doubt they both obeyed. That the Earl of Lancaster did is well known; and Dudgale, on the authority of the *Rotuli Francie*, states that the Earl of Pembroke, "in 21 Ed. III. was again in those wars" (i.e.

in France). Edward was at that time threatened with an attack by all the force which the King of France could bring against him. Both those earls, before they went to Guienne, had served in Flanders with all the other noblemen above mentioned whose arms were originally in the window, except perhaps Richard Lord Talbot.

If I were to hazard a conjecture as to the person to whom we are indebted for this noble window, I should say it was Lord Bradeston. He was of the county, and was a vassal of the lord of Berkeley, having held some knight's fees of that honour. A fortunate as well as a valiant soldier, though the beginning of his career was rather ambiguous, he gained the favour of Edward III., who in the fifth year of his reign confirmed to him for life the Castle, Barton, and Tyne of Gloucester, which he had previously obtained through the influence of Queen Isabella.² This acquisition must have made him of some importance in the town and neighbourhood. According to Dugdale, he and Sir Maurice de Berkeley were inseparable companions, and were created bannerets at the same time. In 1342 he was summoned to Parliament. Now, on the supposition that he was the donor, the arrangement of the arms is in accordance with the sentiments of the age. The arms of the king, the prince, and the earls, have the most honourable places; except that the coat of Lord Berkeley, whose barony was a very ancient one, and whose vassal Lord Bradeston was, is placed amongst those of the earls; while the coat of Lord Bradeston himself is in the least honourable place, though as a baron he was of higher rank than Sir Maurice de Berkeley; but next before it is that of his deceased friend Sir Maurice. Had Lord Berkeley, or the abbot and convent, put up the glass, I should have expected Lord Berkeley's coat to have been where we find the Earl of Pembroke's, and Lord Bradeston's in the place of Sir Maurice de Berkeley's.

The conclusion, however, which the foregoing remarks warrant as to the date of this glass, is not affected by any uncertainty in regard to the person by whom it was presented or the cost of it defrayed. Seeing how very closely the result of the evidence afforded by the heraldry agrees with that derived from an examination of the style and execution of the various subjects and details throughout, I think I am fully justified in stating that the conception of this truly

² This grant was made to him for his life at a yearly rent payable to the Exchequer. Some change, however, in the terms of his tenure seems to have taken place, for Dugdale mentions that about 33 Ed. III. he was appointed governor of Gloucester Castle, with 60*l.* a year for

that service. This was the year before Lord Bradeston's death, and he is said to have died seized of the castle, with a meadow called Castle-mead, and the Tyne called Castle Coule. See Dugd. Baronage, ii. pp. 138, 139. The Tyne was probably some newly enclosed ground.

interesting glass painting may be attributed to 1347 or 1348, and that it was completed within a year or two after that date, and most probably not later than 1350. This opinion has been formed with the more confidence as the evidence afforded by this ancient monument has happily not been destroyed or tampered with by any modern restorer.

All critical investigators of ancient monuments, all lovers of truth and genuineness, are but too well aware of the terrible significance which the misapplied word "Restoration" has acquired of recent years. The ravages of time, the obliteration and confusion consequent on repeated repairs, and the much-abused churchwarden's "beautification," are really trifling evils compared with that careful and elaborate eradication of trustworthy features, which is always found to be the more absolute and complete as we are assured that a "restoration" has been "skilful," "costly," or "thorough." It is seldom that an ordinary workman evinces a love of unnecessary mischief, or that he possesses knowledge enough to induce him to do extensive injury: but where the so-called "Restorer" comes, he rarely fails to make an utter devastation, leaving the puzzled inquirer no means of forming an opinion more satisfactory than one based on the merest conjecture, as to what may have been the original import or appearance of the work.

To the Archaeological Institute may be ascribed the credit of having rescued the interesting window above-described from this destructive process. The stonework had so far yielded to the effects of time as to necessitate its being rebuilt, and the leadwork of the glazing was so decayed as to render its complete repair imperative. Application was not unnaturally made by the Cathedral authorities to some leading firms of glass painters for advice as to the course to be pursued in respect of the painted glass. Each recommended a "Restoration," varying only in extent. One proposed merely a restoration of the missing parts of the existing design; two others were for improving upon it, the one, by "working out the idea of a Heaven, in the tracery;" the other, by "filling the entire window with rich glass." These schemes were much considered during the meeting of the Institute held at Gloucester in 1860. And upon its appearing, from a careful examination of the glazing in its then untouched state, that a restoration of the

missing parts of the existing design would necessarily be for the most part conjectural, and that it would at all events involve the introduction of so much new glass as must of necessity have completely changed the general aspect of the window, it was wisely determined by the Dean and Chapter, at the earnest recommendation of several members of the Institute, to preserve the wreck that remained by a mere releading of the glass, and to attempt nothing in the way of restoration, beyond supplying such insignificant parts of the coloured grounds as were wanting, with modern glass of corresponding hue.³ So rigidly has this determination been adhered to, that even the figure at the top of the window (No. 1), which is evidently not *in situ*, has been reinstated: an expressive intimation that things were left as they were found.

The archæological inquirer has, therefore, precisely the same means of investigation now as he would have had before the recent repairs, if we except such guidance as the ancient leadwork supplied, and which was useful chiefly for the assistance it afforded in determining the authenticity of the glazing of the tracery lights; and the artist may study the remains of the original glass and observe its fine tone and texture as heretofore. Having had occasion to compare these notes, written for the most part before the glazing was moved, with the window since its repair, I could detect no other difference in its appearance than what would naturally result from the glass having been unavoidably freed from a good deal of the whitewash and mortar which in course of years had encumbered its surface.

Apart from the historical associations which attach to every ancient work, and pre-eminently to the present, it may be doubted whether the Gloucester window does not owe most of its popularity to the fine tone and rich hue of its glass. It would be impossible to meet with white glass that is more solid and silvery in effect. The red is beauti-

³ The following statistics may not be uninteresting. The glazing of the window when taken down, amounted to about 2000 square feet; and weighed, including the leadwork, about 35 cwt. It was entirely releaded for 600*l.* by Mr. Hughes, of Frith Street, Soho, whose reparations of the north rose window of Lincoln Cathedral, and of a window at North

Moreton Church, Berks, have been noticed in this Journal, vol. xiv., p. 211, and vol. xviii., p. 153. The estimates of the other glass painters for the proposed restorations alluded to in the text, were as follows: for the first, 1141*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*; for the second, 1700*l.*; for the third, 1170*l.* Their moderation is not questioned.

fully varied, and is most luminous even in its deepest parts;⁴ and the tone of the blue can hardly be surpassed. It must also be admitted that the general design, through the size and simplicity of its parts, is calculated to produce a good and distinct effect at a distance, and that the execution of the painting, rough and imperfect though it be, is, on account of its crispness and boldness, well adapted to the nature of glass, so potent of its kind. But here our admiration should stop. Like all other mediæval works in painted glass, the present is open to the gravest criticism. The figures are ill-drawn, ungraceful, and insipid. The shading, though sufficient both in depth and quantity, if handled with skill, to have produced a due effect of relief—an effect which obviously had been aimed at—is so inartificially employed as to be useful only so far as it serves to impart tone and richness to the composition, and by contrast to increase its brilliancy. Every part of the figure, and all the members of the shrinework, seem to be equally in the same plane; though the real depth of the design, as shown by the lines of the drawing, and the very nature of the composition, is considerable.⁵ Whatever general distinctness of effect it

⁴ Any modern red glass which should equal in hue the deeper portions of the original red glass used in this window would be nearly opaque; whereas all the old is clear and transparent: the reason for the difference being that the laminae of colouring matter are at a greater distance apart in the old streaked ruby, than in the modern smooth ruby.

⁵ All antiquaries know that the "ironed-out-flat" style was never peculiar to pictures on glass, but equally characterises the wall and easel pictures of a time when art was in its immaturity. If we condemn the feature in the one case, we cannot consistently regard it with favour in the other. I was concerned to read in so sensible a print as the *Athenæum* (20 Dec., 1862), certain critical dicta on glass painting, which, with a pretended air of philosophy, reduce the art to mere coloured glazing. The writer supports an objection to the use of a well-known picture by a German artist as a design for a glass painting, by asking, "Can anything be more absurd than the idea of a transparent man?" And he goes on to say, that in a glass painting, all the "details must be treated decoratively, not pictorially, and so far

conventionalised that in no way do they imitate, as a picture rightly does, the aspect of life, otherwise we come to transparent men." This hardly requires any serious refutation. According to our critic, the representation of a man rendered visible by the agency of transmitted light, is "a transparent man;" not a transparent representation of a man, as ordinary persons might be disposed to consider it. His objection, if sound, would exclude from representation in painted glass, all objects but those which are by nature pellucid. Imperfection, however ludicrous, in the imitation of an opaque object, would fail to render it admissible. For a representation of a man, treated decoratively, and so far conventionalised as in no way to imitate the aspect of life—such as the knave of spades—if transferred to a painted window, would still be "a transparent man," as much as, and no more than, the most lifelike and pictorial representation of such an object in painted glass could be. Are we to give up for the theories of such a critic as this, the practice of the best ages and greatest artists in glass painting?

possesses is due to the completeness with which the simple forms of the white figures and canopies are cut out and insulated by the coloured grounds, an achievement of no great difficulty.

I make these remarks not in a spirit of disparagement—the work was a great one in the uncritical times in which it was executed—but in the hope, if possible, of arousing attention to the lowness of the standard to which we, who deem ourselves so enlightened in the nineteenth century, are labouring to conform in our church decorations: a circumstance which would be utterly inexplicable did not experience show that a fashion, in every age, has never been the less omnipotent on account of its absurdity, or even ugliness.

Supplementary Note to the memoir "On an Heraldic Window in the North Aisle of the Nave of York Cathedral," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvii. pp. 34—133 :—

In the window called the "Bell Founder's window," the next window to the one described, is the representation, in the lower part of the central light, of a figure in civil dress, kneeling before an archbishop who is nimbed and seated on a throne. Over the head of the kneeling figure is a scroll inscribed "Richard Tunnoc," and at the bottom of the window are the remains of an inscription, very much mutilated, in which the following words are legible, "Richard noc me fist" I have been informed by my friend Rev. J. Raine, the biographer of the Archbishops of York, that in 1320 Richard Tunnoc was one of the sheriffs of York, and that there was a chantry in the Minster, at the altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury, founded for the repose of the soul of Richard Tunnoc, citizen of York.

* Nothing could be worse, as a whole, than the English specimens of glass painting at the International Exhibition of 1862, or indeed more discouraging, considering the immense sums expended of late on this species of decoration. The Royal Commissioners would seem

to have preferred to render their awards absolutely valueless by distributing prizes to the bad and indifferent alike, rather than to waste time on a critical investigation, which probably could not have been attended with any very beneficial result.

OBSERVATIONS ON ORNAMENTS OCCURRING UPON SAMIAN
WARE, AND SUPPOSED TO BE CONNECTED WITH THE
GYMNASTIC EXERCISES OF THE ROMANS.

From Notices communicated by Dr. FERDINAND KELLER, President of the Society of
Antiquaries of Zurich; Hon. Member of the Archaeological Institute.

THE curious devices and representations of mythological or popular subjects, which occur in great variety amongst ornaments in low relief introduced upon vessels of the fine red ware commonly designated Samian, have long attracted the notice of antiquaries in all countries where vestiges of Roman occupation are found. It is not within the scope of the present brief notices to offer any remarks upon the history and origin of these beautiful ancient wares, of which fragments in greater or less abundance appear to be brought to light in every locality where Roman establishments have been traced; the relics of this class found in Switzerland are not less numerous and varied in the character of their elegant and varied decorations, than those occurring in Germany, in France, or in England. The tourist-antiquary who may indulge in exploring the ancient sites of Helvetia will find in profusion, in museums and private collections, types of ornament amongst those interesting vessels, names of potters stamped upon them, with other evidences supplying fresh materials for the History of the Fictile Arts under the influence of Imperial Rome.¹

Amongst designs embossed upon these examples of a ware which appears to have been held anciently in high estimation, the observer is struck with the endless variety of popular subjects illustrative of manners and usages of daily life, not less than of such as relate to mythological traditions

¹ Mr. C. Roach Smith has given a collection of potter's marks from specimens preserved in the Berne Museum; *Coll. Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 153. Orelli enumerates many marks in his *Inscrip-*

tiones Helvetiae, Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zurich, ii. p. 209; more fully given by Mommsen, *Insc. Confed. Helv.*, *ibid.* x. p. 87.

and the symbolism of pagan creeds or ceremonies. Upon these *fictilia*, doubtless the familiar appliances of the banquets of the ancients,—“*Samia etiamnum in esculentis laudantur*,” according to Pliny’s trite observation,—found likewise upon the table of the more wealthy colonist even in the remotest parts of the empire, the “*divisos orbe Britannos*,” our attention is irresistibly arrested not only by the spirited design and classical taste which characterise many of these diminutive enrichments, but by their instructive details as regards familiar scenes of social life, or the more solemn myths associated with the *cultus* of the ancient divinities. It is to be regretted that the highly decorated vases of the ware which antiquaries by common consent now designate as Samian, are found almost invariably broken; even in this fragmentary condition the beauty of their workmanship cannot fail to be recognised, and we would fain comprehend fully the significance of the multiplied devices, and rescue from oblivion the technical history of one of the most interesting classes of ancient Ceramic Art.

Besides representations of ancient divinities and their symbols, sacrificial ceremonies, genii, fauns, and bacchanalian dances or processions, the decorations of this kind of ware present numerous subjects such as Orpheus fascinating the beasts, Apollo and Daphne, Actæon, Cupid, Hercules, Fortune, and the like; also the sphinx, tritons, and imaginary creatures in great variety. A curious representation of the fable of the conflicts of the Pigmies and the Cranes occurs on a fragment of Samian ware found at Oberwinterthur, figured in the *Indicateur d’Histoire et d’Antiquités Suisses*, vol. i. p. 29. Another interesting class of subjects of frequent occurrence comprises the chariot race, subjects of the chase, gladiatorial combats, the bull-fight, the exploits of the *bestiarii* and the *retiarii*, and the fearful conflicts with ferocious animals in the arena. With such and many other allusions to field sports and to the exciting amusements of the amphitheatre, to which the Romans were so passionately addicted, it were to be expected that representations of other favorite disports of a simpler character would occasionally occur, such as the dance, gymnastic exercises, the popular games with *astragali* or with *tesseræ*, and the like. Examples of Samian ware might likewise be pointed out on which the *discobolus* seems to be figured.

The ornamental details, however, upon certain Samian fragments which it is the particular object of the present short notice to bring under consideration, may be connected with the popular Roman exercise of ball-play. There occur not unfrequently, amidst minor accessories, such as foliated decorations, rings, discs, garlands, and other conventional or capricious details introduced in intervening spaces with others of more obvious import, little objects which, as has been suggested with a certain degree of probability, may have been intended to represent some kind of *follis* or *folliculus*, so much in vogue amongst the Romans in their gymnastic disports. It will be seen by the accompanying woodcuts that the object in question is not of spherical form, like the *pila*, or ball proper, of the use of which several ancient representations exist. It is of cylindrical shape, apparently tied tightly round at both ends; and it is obvious that such an appliance, of light elastic material, or possibly constructed by means of a frame-work covered with skin or parchment and inflated, might supply a substitute for the balls of ordinary fashion, and afford means for exercises the more popular, it may be, because more difficult than those with the spherical *pila*. In the absence of any positive evidence regarding the peculiar fashion of the *follis*,² it may deserve consideration that the term is used to designate a bag, a purse, or the like. Thus Vegetius mentions "*folles, hoc est saccos in quibus militum pecunia condebatur.*" A kind of air-cushion also, on which guests were sometimes seated at table, was termed *follis*;³ and by analogy of form it appears not unreasonable to suppose that the *follis* provided for the game under consideration may have been of oblong shape, such as the object occurring on the Samian fragments here figured.

The evidence is abundant that the Romans indulged daily in various exercises previous to the bath, as salutary both for mind and body; this *exercitatio* was customarily practised by all classes; the consul, the statesman, and the emperor

² Mercurialis has given an illustration from a coin of Gordian III., in which it has been supposed that the game with the *follis* is represented. De Gymn., p. 126. The ball is spherical, of large dimensions; the players appear to wear a guard on the right arm, to enable them

to strike the ball with greater effect. The subject of ancient ball-play has been treated in great detail by M. Burette, *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de la Sphéristique*, Mém. Acad. des Inscrip., t. i. p. 138.

³ Lampriid. in Heliog., c. 25.

indulged in such recreation ; those who neglected such gymnastic discipline being accused of indolence. Suetonius observes of Augustus,—“ *Exercitationes campestris equorum et armorum statim post civilia bella omisit, et ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit ; mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat.*”⁴ Valerius Maximus relates that Q. Mutius Scævola the augur excelled in playing with the *pila*, and was accustomed to have recourse to such recreation after the fatigues of public life. Indeed, one of the most popular exercises was the game of ball, highly extolled by Galen, and of which Roman authors mention many varieties, the *pila*, *follis* or *folliculus*, *trigon*, *paganica*, &c. The *pila* seems to have been a ball of small size ; the *follis* was of larger dimensions, and filled with air ; the *paganica* was stuffed with feathers. Thus we read in Martial :—

“ *Hæc quæ difficili turget paganica pluma,
Folle minus laxa est et minus arta pila.*”⁵

The *follis* or great light ball was struck by the fist or the arm, which is supposed to have been sometimes furnished with a kind of glove. This kind of disport was, however, regarded as of a lighter sort, not requiring any severe exertion ; thus Martial speaks of it as suited alike for boys and old men :—“ *Folle decet pueros ludere, folle senes.*”⁶ It may be questioned, as writers on this subject have remarked, whether the words of Trachalio, in Plautus,—“ *Extemplo, hercle, ego te follem pugillatorium faciam, et pendentem incursabo pugnâ,*” may not refer to a distended skin, by which the *pugiles* exercised themselves, as the gladiators did with a post. There have been preserved various representations of ancient ball-play, as given by Mercurialis and other writers on gymnastic exercises ; a remarkable illustration of a game with several balls was also found in Italy in a painting on a ceiling.⁷ We are not aware, however, that any well ascertained representation of the *follis* or *folliculus* has hitherto been pointed out.

Those who may desire more precise information on the various games to which allusion has been made, and on the

⁴ Sueton. Aug. 83.

⁵ Martial, xiv. ep. 45. The *follis* is mentioned likewise by Martial in one

other passage, vii. ep. 32.

⁶ Martial, xiv. ep. 47.

⁷ Descr. des Bains de Titus, pl. 17.

technical terms occurring in ancient authors, will find a minute and interesting investigation of the subject in the valuable work entitled "*Gallus*," by Professor Becker.⁸

Of the curious examples illustrating, as supposed, the use of this disport, one was found on the site of the ancient *Vindonissa*,⁹ now called Windisch, a village in the canton of Aargau, situated on the banks of the river Reuss, near its confluence with the Aare and the Limmat. That city was one of the most important Roman settlements in Switzerland, the head-quarters of the twenty-first legion and subsequently of the eleventh; in their present state the vestiges are unimportant, although from time to time many relics of antiquity have been there disinterred. Of these some, of more than ordinary interest, consisting of bronze decorations of the scabbard of a sword and a collection of remarkable subjects in relief upon fictile lamps, have been published in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zürich, accompanied by a memoir by Otto Jahn.¹ Upon the Samian fragment here figured, the repetition of two somewhat remarkable figures occurs, one bearing a certain resemblance to Hercules in its nude athletic proportions, and the object with pendant lappets in which the left arm is wrapped; whilst the second wearing a kind of *petasus* and leaning upon a *cippus* might at first sight recall some familiar representation of Mercury. One of the hands of the figure last described is apparently covered with a muffler like a boxing-glove, and above is introduced, in the spaces between these personages, the object which, as conjecturally supposed, may be intended for the *foliis*. (See woodcut on the next page.)

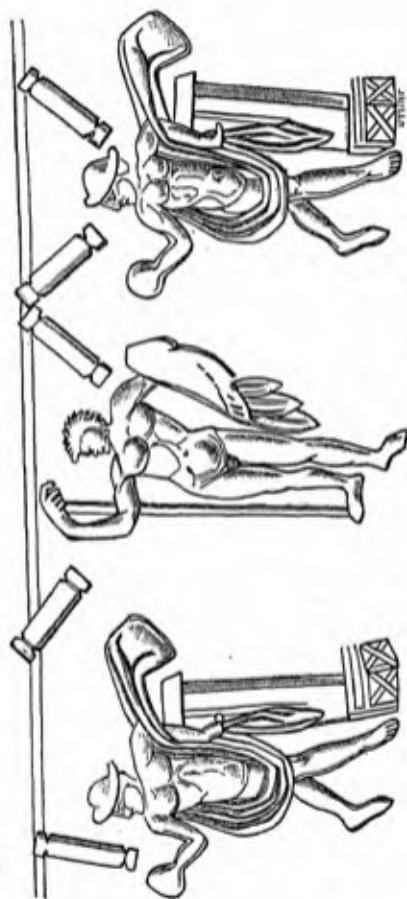
The second example, which deserves the consideration of the antiquary in connection with the present subject, occurs upon a piece of Samian ware found near Munich, and communicated by the late Professor Oken.

⁸ Excurs. ii. sc. 7. See the translation by the Rev. F. Metcalfe, p. 398, edit. 1849.

⁹ See a Memoir by Deffels in the annual publication of the Antiquaries of Bonn (Jahrb. des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden in Rheinlande) xix. p. 22. Haller, in his work on Helvetia under the Romans, Bronner, in his Description of the Canton of Aargau, t. i. p. 27, and other writers, have, as it is believed, given exaggerated notions of

the great extent of the ancient *Vindonissa*. The statement has been repeated in Murray's Handbook. Numerous interesting remains, however, have there been brought to light. See Indicateur d'Hist. et d'Antiqu. Suisses, vol. i. p. 7. In vol. iii. p. 57, of the same periodical, will be found a list of potters' marks found at Windisch, and now in the collection of M. Amiét of Soleure.

¹ Mittheil. der Antiqu. Gesellsch. in Zürich, Band xiv. 1826.



Figures occurring on fragments of Samian Ware
 Found at Windisch, the ancient Vindeuissa; Canton of Aargau in Switzerland.

In this little group a figure is seen nude, in an attitude of active movement; the gesture of the hands according well with the supposition that the subject represented may have been a *pilicrepus* engaged in gymnastic exercise, with the inflated *folliculus* in mid-air over his head. Below is intro-



Figures upon Samian Ware found near Munich.

duced a small distorted being, holding a mace like a jester's bauble, a monstrous little Puck, probably introduced by a separate stamp on the hollow mould from which the vessel was produced; it may have no connexion with the accompanying figures.

Other fragments of Roman ware with decoration in relief might be noticed upon which the object occurs, to which hitherto, it is believed, no particular import has been assigned. It may not be undeserving of notice that it appears usually to be placed diagonally, as if flying like a shuttlecock. Some readers probably may hesitate to accept the explanation which has been here suggested, with the conviction that, however disguised by conventional treatment, these seemingly capricious details are rarely if ever devoid of signification.

Amongst the multiplicity of examples of Samian ware exhibited in the Temporary Museums formed during the successive yearly meetings of the Institute, examples have not been wanting upon which the singular little object

occurs, to which our attention has been invited by our friendly correspondent Dr. Keller. It has been likewise noticed upon some specimens of Samian ware discovered by the late Lord Braybrooke in his excavations near Audley End. A very interesting illustration of the introduction of this peculiar ornament, the import of which may possibly be as has been above suggested by the accomplished archæologist of Zürich, is seen upon a fine Samian bowl found, in 1821, at Normangate Field, near Castor, Northamptonshire, and published by the late Mr. Artis: *Durobrivæ* of Antoninus, pl. 50. The supposed *follis* there accompanies a representation of a triton, with other figures. Examples also may be seen in Mr. Roach Smith's collection of London Antiquities, by which the "British Room" in the National depository has happily been enriched. Amongst the multiplicity of Samian *fictilia* may there be noticed a bowl (Catal. No. 158) with figures of Diana and Minerva, Hercules and Bacchus, and a well-designed figure holding a cup; also a perpendicular vase of large dimensions (No. 157) embossed with birds, masks, and figures kneeling. Upon both, figured in the Catalogue, pl. 8, the conjectural *follis* repeatedly occurs.

Whilst we accept, as claiming our best consideration, any opinion of so acute and erudite an archæologist as Dr. Keller, in whose views in the present instance we believe that some of our learned fellow laborers in foreign parts have concurred, it must be considered that the supposed *follis*, in form ill adapted to the purpose, seems indiscriminately introduced by a distinct stamp, and may, as we apprehend, have no relation to any figures with which by caprice it has been brought into juxtaposition. Some may incline to see in it the gladiatorial *tessera*, either such as were given to the victors or used to admit spectators to the show. The figures on the fragment from Windisch may represent a *retiarius* leaning on his *fuscina*, of which the shaft only is shown, and a net over his arm, with a wounded *mirmillo* or Samnite, wearing a flat helmet, his hand wrapped in defensive armour, and held up for quarter. The details on all ancient *fictilia* are replete with curious interest.

THE SEPULCHRAL REMAINS AND EFFIGIES IN THE CATHEDRAL
CHURCH OF WORCESTER,¹

By MATTHEW HOLBECH BLOXAM, F.S.A.

THE Cathedral Church of Worcester contains a fair proportion of monumental effigies and monuments; it is not so rich perhaps in this respect as some of our cathedrals, whilst it surpasses others. It contains the earliest sepulchral effigy in this country of an English monarch, that of King John, and the monument and sepulchral chapel of 'Arthur Prince of Wales, eldest son of Henry VII. We have effigies of six of the bishops of Worcester anterior to the Reformation, and of three of the bishops of the Reformed Church, besides the monumental statue of Bishop Hough by the celebrated Roubiliac, also those of a prior and an abbot anterior to the Reformation, and of a dean subsequent to that period. We here find also a few effigies in armour, and several of ladies, some of them designed with great taste. In perusing a long list of bishops, not comprising all (one hundred and eleven in number), but those only who have presided over the see since the commencement of the thirteenth century, between seventy and eighty in number, we find that only twenty-four, of whom ten were previous to the Reformation, were buried at Worcester. This may, however, be accounted for by translations to other sees, or from the deaths of certain bishops at distant places.

With regard to the actual arrangement of the monumental effigies, we find, as is the case in other cathedrals, that the greater part have been removed from their original positions and the places which they occupied in the early part of the last century, when Dr. Thomas published his Survey. Both in that and other works, certain episcopal and other effigies have been wrongly ascribed, and I feel the same difficulty

that I experienced on a former occasion with respect to the effigies in Peterborough Cathedral, in attempting to correct the erroneous conclusions which have hitherto prevailed.

That there should be no monument anterior to the thirteenth century is accounted for by the fire in the early part of that century, in which the total destruction of the cathedral was involved. The earliest effigies of bishops are two of the three now placed in the Lady Chapel, near the east end. The one northward I should ascribe to Bishop William de Blois, who died in 1236; that southward to Bishop Walter de Cantilupe, who died in 1265-6. The fine monument of a bishop on the south side of Prince Arthur's Chapel may, perhaps, be ascribed to Godfrey Giffard, who died in 1301. The two episcopal effigies beneath pedimental canopies, in or adjoining to the south wall of the north-east transept, appear to be of the fourteenth century, and that on the floor at the east end of the Lady Chapel, between two earlier effigies already noticed, may be ascribed to Bishop Cobham, who died in 1327, to Bishop de Bransford, who died in 1349, and to Bishop Brian, who died in 1361. Bishop Hemenhall, who died in 1338, Bishop Lynn, who died in 1373, and Bishop Wakefield, who died in 1395, and was commemorated by a monumental brass in the nave, no longer existing, were the only other bishops of the fourteenth century buried in the cathedral; and it is possible that the three monumental effigies last noticed may not have been correctly ascribed in the foregoing observations.

The earliest episcopal effigy, I think, in the cathedral, and which I have ascribed to Bishop William de Blois, who died A.D. 1236, is the northernmost of the three effigies lying on the floor of the Lady Chapel. This effigy is sculptured in low relief on a coffin-shaped slab, and was probably set originally on the stone coffin which contained the remains of the prelate whom this effigy was intended to represent. The face is worn smooth; on the head is the low mitre; about the neck, which is somewhat bare, is seen the amice. In front of the breast on the chasuble is a lozenge-shaped ornament like a morse—the *pectorale* or *rationale*—in which stones, colored glass, or ornaments of vitreous paste have been inserted, but these have disappeared. The folds of the chasuble, which are numerous, come to a point in front, disclosing beneath it the alb; one of the fringed extremities

of the stole is visible above the alb, but I have been unable to discern either of those episcopal vestments, the tunic or dalmatic. The maniple hangs over the left arm and appear to have been ornamented with imitative jewels. The right hand is upheld with two fingers raised in act of benediction; the left grasps the pastoral staff, which crossed the body from the left shoulder to the right foot. The crook of the staff has been worn away, and the right foot is gone. On each side of the head is sculptured Early English foliage. I am informed that this effigy is worked in Higley stone from quarries near Bridgnorth.

The second, and perhaps most interesting episcopal effigy, and which may be ascribed to Bishop Walter de Cantilupe, who died A.D. 1265-6, is the southernmost of three effigies in the Lady Chapel, lying near the east window. This is sculptured in bold relief on a coffin-shaped slab, namely, wider at the head than at the foot, out of a block of Purbeck or dark-colored marble. It represents the bishop wearing moustaches and a curly beard, with a low pointed mitre, on either side of which is sculptured Early English foliage. The right hand is upheld with the fore-fingers raised in benediction; the left grasps the pastoral staff, the crook of which is gone. The skirt of the alb is seen over the feet, the parure or apparel appears to have been ornamented with imitative precious stones or glass. The extremities of the stole are visible over the alb; over this appears the dalmatic, and over that the chasuble, the folds of which are very numerous. In front of the chasuble on the breast is a quatrefoiled ornament like a morse—the *pectorale* or *rationale*. The neck is bare, but the amice appears like a stiff collar. The maniple is represented hanging over the left arm, and is fringed; it appears from certain cavities to have been ornamented with glass or imitative jewels. The feet rest against a bracket. I believe this effigy to have originally formed the lid of the coffin of Bishop Walter de Cantilupe, and to have been prepared in the lifetime of that prelate. Great care has been taken in the execution, and as a specimen of sculpture of the middle of the thirteenth century, it has considerable merit.

On the south side of Prince Arthur's Chapel, and inclosed within its rich screen, are two tombs with effigies, the one of a lady, the other of a bishop. From the similarity of

these tombs, they appear to have been sculptured by the same hand and at the same period. The south side of each, the only side visible, is divided into six quatrefoiled compartments, each containing sculptures in relief, now mutilated. Amongst these are represented the Resurrection, St. Andrew, and other apostles; these are sculptured in Purbeck marble, and are apparently of the early part of the fourteenth century. The westernmost of these two tombs supports the effigy of a bishop, the head lying within a pedimental canopy with a cinquefoiled arch. The chin is close shaven. The mitre is enriched with quatrefoiled ornaments, and there are numerous cavities, in which imitative precious stones, pieces of glass or vitreous paste have been set to represent jewels. The neck is bare; a square ornament upon the breast appears to have been set with imitative stones, or ornaments formed of glass or some artificial substance, as was also the collar of the amice. The hands are mutilated; the folds of the chasuble are tastefully arranged; beneath the chasuble appear the skirts of the dalmatic with its borders fringed; beneath this is the tunic, and the fringed extremities of the stole appear over the skirt of the alb. The maniple, likewise fringed at the extremities, hangs over the left arm; and the boots appear to have been incrustated with imitative jewels, in the same manner as the mitre, the ornament on the breast, and other portions of the pontifical vestments.² This effigy has been ascribed to Bishop Giffard, who died in 1301, and I am inclined to concur in that supposition.³

In the north-east transept, against the north wall of the choir, beneath a Decorated Pointed arch of two orders of mouldings, with ball-flowers and escutcheons alternately in hollow mouldings, on a plain tomb with a rude embattled moulding, is the effigy of a bishop. The mitred head reposes on two square cushions, placed one upon the other, and supported by mutilated figures of angels. The vestments, consisting of the chasuble, dalmatic, tunic, and alb, are not well defined; the arms are gone, and the feet rest against two

² An elaborate colored representation of this figure may be seen in Hollis's *Monumental Effigies*, with the jeweled ornaments, orfrees, &c., on a larger scale.

³ Bishop Giffard's will, dated Sept. 13, 1301, in which mention of his tomb

occurs, has been printed by Dr. Thomas, in the Appendix to his *Survey*, p. 77. The tomb is supposed by that writer to have been near the altar in the Lady Chapel.

animals, apparently dogs. This effigy appears to be of the fourteenth century, and may be ascribed to Bishop Cobham, who died in 1327.

Westward of the last, on a high tomb of the seventeenth century, with details of that period, and under a Pointed arch of the fourteenth century, enriched with roll and hollow mouldings, surmounted by a pedimental canopy with a band of oak-leaves not well sculptured, serving as a crest in lieu of crockets, lies the effigy of a bishop, apparently of the fourteenth century. The face is close shaven, on the head is the *mitra pretiosa*, the neck is bare, with the amice about it. The chasuble is enriched with the orfrey or *super-humerale*, an ornament not unlike the archiepiscopal pall, hanging down in front and fringed at the extremity. Beneath the chasuble appears the dalmatic, fringed round the skirts and up the sides as far as the sides are open; the tunic is not represented, this was sometimes the case; the alb appears beneath the dalmatic; the boots are pointed, and the feet rest against a lion; the hands and arms are defaced. The fringed maniple hangs over the left arm; the head reposes on a square tasseled cushion supported by two angels, of which that on the left is much mutilated. This effigy may, I think, be ascribed to Bishop Walter de Bransford, who died in 1349.

Between the two early effigies in the Lady Chapel is placed a third, of much later date, probably representing Bishop Brian, who died in 1361, or Bishop Lynn, who died in 1373. This effigy is much mutilated, especially the head, and the hands are lost. The mitre is much higher than those of the two effigies between which it is placed; the chasuble, dalmatic, tunic, and alb are discernible, but little more; the feet rest against a lion. Two angels appear to have supported the pillows on which the head reposes, but their heads have been struck off. This effigy is sculptured out of a slab of Higley stone, as wide at the lower part as at the upper, a fact indicative of somewhat late date.

My description of the three last effigies may be wrong as regards the particular bishops to whom I have assigned them, but there are only five bishops amongst whom they can be ascribed.

Besides the six effigies of some of the ancient bishops of this see already noticed, there are two of other ecclesiastics,

who may be considered the heads of conventual establishments. The first, removed from the upper south transept or Dean's Chapel, is under an arch in the south aisle of the nave. This has been attributed in Abingdon's Survey to a friar named Baskerville, but the person commemorated is neither represented in the garb of a Dominican nor of a Franciscan. I imagine it to be the effigy of one of the priors of Worcester, who is represented as vested for the eucharistic office; the head, which is tonsured and bare, reposes on two oblong cushions placed one upon the other and tasseled. He is vested in the alb and chasuble, on the latter appears the orfrey or *superhumerales*, having some resemblance to the archiepiscopal pall; about the neck is the amice, the collar of which is enriched with quatrefoiled ornaments, and over the left arm is the maniple; the hands are broken off. The fringed extremities of the stole are seen ornamented with four-petaled flowers. The feet rest against a lion. This effigy I consider to be either of a period late in the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century.⁴

The other effigy is said, with some probability, to be that of the last Abbot of Evesham, Philip Hawford, *alias* Ballard, who was collated Dean of Worcester in 1553, and died A.D. 1557. This effigy and tomb are at the back of the east screen of the choir, the head being to the south, the feet north, and it has been removed thither within the last century. The only side of the tomb visible is ornamented with quatrefoiled circles. The effigy, of oolitic stone, is in good preservation. On the head, which reposes on two cushions with tassels at the corners, supported by angels, appears the *mitra pretiosa*, a costly specimen; the amice is disposed about the neck with numerous folds in front; the right hand, the glove of which is jeweled at the back, is upheld in the gesture of benediction; the left, which is also gloved and jeweled, holds a peculiar staff which is covered with the veil. The staff, possibly the *bordonus* borne by a *cantor* or a prior, is placed on the left side; it has the head elaborately and architecturally sculptured, but without a crook. Over the body is worn the chasuble, with numerous folds falling to a point in front; beneath this appears the dalmatic, fringed at the skirts, the sleeves are also fringed. Under-

⁴ This curious figure has been given in Hollis' Monumental Effigies.

neath the dalmatic is the tunic, below which appear the extremities of the stole, and then the skirts of the alb in loose folds; the boots appear to have been broad-toed but the feet are somewhat mutilated. This effigy is elaborately sculptured, and the vestments are well defined, but the face is mutilated. It is figured in Dr. Thomas' Survey, p. 68.

The monument, or as Leland would call it, "high tomb," of King John in the midst of the choir is especially worthy of notice. The effigy was originally the cover of the stone coffin in which the remains of that monarch were deposited in the Chapel of the Virgin, at the east end of the cathedral. The altar tomb is of a much later period, probably constructed early in the sixteenth century, when the tomb of Prince Arthur was erected. Leland, in treating of the cathedral in his Itinerary, vol. viii. f. 113, a., thus notices it:—"In Presbyterio—Johannes Rex, cujus sepulchrum Alchirch sacrista nuper renovavit." When Alchirch was sacristan I have not been able to ascertain. The sides of this tomb are divided into three square compartments by paneled buttresses; each compartment contains a shield bearing the royal arms within a quatrefoil richly cusped; the spandrels are also foliated and cusped. Though of no unusual design it has a rich effect, and the base-mouldings are numerous. It is, however, the effigy of the king, sculptured in the early part of the thirteenth century, and probably the earliest sepulchral effigy in the cathedral, to which our chief attention should be drawn. This effigy represents him in the regal habiliments; first, the tunic, yellow or of cloth of gold, reaching nearly to the ankles, with close-fitting sleeves of which little is apparent. Over the tunic is seen the dalmatic, of a crimson color, with wide sleeves edged with a gold and jeweled border, and girt about the waist by a girdle buckled in front, the pendant end of the girdle, which is jeweled, falling down as low as the skirt of the dalmatic. Of the yellow mantle lined with green little is visible. On the feet are black shoes, to the heels of which are affixed spurs. On the hands are gloves, jeweled at the back; the right hand held a sceptre, the lower portion of which only is left; the left grasps the hilt of the sword. On the head is the crown; there are moustaches and beard, and the light brown hair is long. On either side of the head is the figure of a bishop holding a censer, perhaps intended to represent St. Oswald

and St. Wulstan, between whose tombs the king was interred in the Chapel of the Virgin. Roger Hoveden, treating of the coronation of Richard I., enumerates the regal vestments, and relates how they were worn, and his description may be applied to this effigy. In the crown, in the mitres of the bishops, and on different portions of the robes, appear cavities for stones, pieces of vitreous paste or glass imitative of jewels. The feet of the effigy rest against a lion, in whose jaws the point of the sword is inserted. This monumental statue is a remarkable example of art; Walpole was of opinion that it might have been sculptured by Cavallini.

The most ancient of the effigies in armour is that lying in the north aisle of the Lady Chapel, not however in its original position.⁵ It has been supposed to represent Sir James de Beauchamp. The head, covered with a *coif de mailles* of rings set edgewise, reposes on two cushions placed one upon the other. The armour consists of a hauberk and chausses of the same kind of mail, over which is a long sleeveless surcoat, somewhat gracefully disposed; the hands are covered with gloves of mail, the right grasps the hilt of a long sword, and the left rests upon the scabbard. The legs are crossed, the feet rest against a lion, and affixed to the heels, each fastened by a single leather, are pryck-spurs. A long heater-shaped shield, suspended by a guige crossing diagonally from the right shoulder, is affixed to the left arm. The belt, to which the sword is attached, crosses the body from the right hip to the left thigh. From the absence of any plate armour, from the length of the shield (3 feet), and from the long surcoat, this effigy may be assigned to the reign of Henry III., and to about the middle of the thirteenth century. This effigy, like many others, is of large stature, being 6 feet 3 inches in length. It is placed on a tomb somewhat raised, apparently a stone coffin.

In the south-east transept and against the south wall, on a tomb erected, about 1805, by the Earl Harcourt, and replacing a low unsightly tomb of brick, is the cross-legged effigy of a knight, lying somewhat on the left side, the head being

⁵ It was formerly in the N. aisle of the choir. See Dr. Thomas' Survey, p. 43, and his Iconography of the Cathedral. In the window above were these arms, gu. a fess between six cross crosslets or, on the fess a crescent sa. Leland,

Itin., vol. viii. f. 112, b., mentions the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, of Holt, in the nave; and that of Sir John Beauchamp of Powike and his wife Elizabeth as then placed in the north aisle of the nave.

inclined northward.⁶ The head is covered with a *coif de mailles* of rings set edgewise, with a band round the temples ; the body armour consists of a hauberk and chausses of the same kind of mail, with poleyns of plate over the knee-caps. The feet rest against a lion, and the spurs are fastened by a single leather. Over the hauberk is a sleeveless surcoat, and a shield, only 1 foot 8 inches in length, emblazoned with the arms of Harcourt, *gules* two bars *or*, is affixed to the left arm. The right hand grasps the hilt, whilst the left is represented holding the scabbard of the sword, the guige of which crosses the body from the right hip to the left thigh. The head reposes on two cushions, square and lozenge-shaped. This effigy displays considerable remains of painting. The proportions are clumsy, especially the *coif de mailles* worn over the head and about the neck. On the raised tomb, on which it is placed, is a brass plate bearing an inscription supplied, at Lord Harcourt's request, by Gough, according to which the effigy is ascribed to Sir William de Harcourt, who died 1209 ; he was son of Sir Robert de Harcourt and Isabel de Camville.

These are the only effigies in armour of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries existing in this cathedral.

There are several effigies of ladies. The earliest is in the north aisle of the Lady Chapel, evidently of the thirteenth century, and said to have been removed from the *Carnaria* or Charnel Chapel built by Bishop William de Blois early in that century, adjacent to the north entrance of the nave, and demolished about 1677, with the exception only of the crypt, which I believe still exists although no traces are visible above ground. This effigy, which is apparently of Purbeck marble, is placed on a raised tomb, and perhaps formed the lid of a coffin ; the verge of the slab, upon which the effigy is sculptured, is decorated with deeply undercut Early English foliage, of about the middle of the thirteenth century. The slab does not appear to be coffin-shaped ; the sides are parallel, a form unusual anterior to the fifteenth century. The head reposes on a square cushion ; the hair is gathered up behind in a net, and a kind of circlet is worn round the

⁶ See Dr. Thomas' Survey, p. 71. In Nichols' Lit. Hist., vol. iv. p. 385, a letter is given from the Earl Harcourt to Gough, in 1805, regarding the restoration

of the tomb, and the inscription for which he requested Gough's advice and directions.

temples ; on the neck, chin, and on each side of the face appears the wimple ; the sleeves of the gown are close-fitting, but the hands are mutilated. The right arm reclines on the breast ; the left below the elbow crosses the body horizontally, and in the hand is a glove. The robe is sculptured in numerous stiff parallel folds without taste or breadth, and the feet rest against a bracket. A mantle appears at the back of the effigy, but hangs down tastelessly ; holes for affixing the fer-mails are apparent, but no traces exist of the cordon or lace which fastened the mantle in front. This effigy is not of much merit as a work of art ; if the lady is here represented of her natural stature, she must have been 6 feet 3 inches in height ; I think, however, from the examination of several other examples, that many early sepulchral effigies were exaggerated in their proportions.

In the south aisle of the Lady Chapel, evidently removed from its original position, is an effigy of a lady designed and sculptured with exquisite taste. This is of the fourteenth century. The head, which reposes on a single square cushion, is covered with a veil flowing gracefully on each side to the shoulders ; the wimple passes under her chin, and appears on each side of the face ; the folds of the robe are disposed with great breadth, taste and skill ; the sleeves fit close to the wrists. The mantle is fastened across the breast by a band, which is held in front and drawn down by the left hand ; the right arm and hand are disposed on the right side ; the feet rest against a dog. This effigy is sculptured in high relief out of a slab somewhat coffin-shaped, and is one of the most beautiful of the mediæval monumental relics in the cathedral.

Near to this lies the much mutilated effigy of a lady, also of the fourteenth century, found recently at the foot of the steps of the transept, near Prince Arthur's Chapel. It exhibits the flat head-dress and wimple of the period.

But the most remarkable of the sepulchral effigies of ladies is that on the south side of Prince Arthur's Chapel, inclosed within the screen, and lying on a tomb with sculptures on each side within quatrefoiled compartments, exactly like the tomb of a bishop placed westward of it, both monuments having evidently been designed by the same artist, either late in the thirteenth century, or early in the fourteenth century. The effigy, which is beautifully exe-

cuted, represents a lady in the veiled head-dress and the wimple or gorget, which covers the sides of the face, neck and chin, the latter, perhaps, a sign of widowhood, leaving but a small portion of the face visible; the veil is tastefully disposed; the gown flows in ample folds, and the close-fitting sleeves of the inner garment are apparent. Over the gown is a mantle fastened by an elegant lozenge-shaped fermal, in somewhat unusual fashion; the left arm is gone, the right reclines on the breast, and in the hand is held a string of beads, or, as anciently called, a pair of paternosters, with larger beads at intervals; the beads gracefully disposed, and not hanging formally. The feet rest against a dog. The admirable manner in which this example of art is treated is worthy of all praise. The mantle and gown, according to the description in Watson's Memoirs of the Earls of Warren, bore painted escutcheons of the arms of Warren, checky *argent* and *sable*, on the former, and Blanchminster, *argent* fretty *gules*, on the robe; or, as given by Dr. Thomas, probably following Abingdon's Survey, checky *or* and *azure*, and *or* a fret *gules*. The figure has been supposed to represent Audela, daughter and heiress of Griffin de Albo Monasterio, who married John de Warren, son of Griffin de Warren by Isabel de Pulford his wife; Griffin was natural son of William, sixth earl of Warren and Surrey, who died A.D. 1239. The bearing on the escutcheons upon the mantle proves on accurate examination to be checky *or* and *azure*, with a fess upon which no color is now to be seen but supposed to have been *gules*, the coat of Clifford. Of the bearing upon the robe no trace is to be found.⁷ Mr. Planché, in a memoir read at the meeting of the Archæological Association at Worcester, and published in their Journal, vol. vi. p. 5, has suggested that this graceful effigy may be the memorial of Matilda, daughter and heir of Walter de Clifford; she married, first, William Longespée, and secondly, Lord Giffard of Brimsfield, a kinsman of Bishop Giffard's. The interment of the "domina de Clifford, dicta comitissa," is entered in the Annals of Worcester under the year 1301, but she had died before 1283.

⁷ This tomb and effigy are figured in Dr. Thomas' Survey, p. 39, and in the Notes appended to Upton de Stud. Milit., p. 94; the arms on the robe are there

described as the bearing of Verdon. This engraving by Lombart was copied for Watson's Mem. of the Earls of Warren, vol. i. p. 216, where it is stated that the

On the north side of the nave, between two of the piers, is a high tomb, the sides of which are paneled in five compartments; the arch of each panel is trefoiled, and each incloses a shield with armorial bearings;⁸ at each end are three similar paneled compartments, each containing a shield. On this tomb are effigies of a knight and his lady. The former is represented with a helm under his head surmounted by a coronet with a swan as a crest. On the head of the effigy is a pointed basinet, attached to a camail covering the neck; over the body-armour is worn a close-fitting sleeveless jupon, escalated at the skirts, and with an horizontal baldric about the loins. Epaulières or shoulder-plates and rerebraces protect the upper arms, coudes the elbows, and vambraces the arms from the elbows to the wrists; gauntlets of plain work protect the hands; cuisses, genouillères, jambs, and sollerets of plate, the latter of overlapping laminæ, protect the lower limbs, and the feet rest against some animal. The hands are conjoined on the breast; the sword is worn on the left side, the dagger on the right. This is supposed to be the effigy of John Beauchamp, son of Sir John Beauchamp of Holt, and is probably of the early part of the fifteenth century.⁹ The effigy of the lady lying on his left side represents her attired in an ornamental net-work head-dress, with a kerchief flowing down behind. Her dress consists of a corset close-fitting to the waist and open at the sides, with a row of square ornaments of goldsmith's work in front, and flowing skirts. On each hip there is an ornament of the same fashion, affixed lozengewise. The tight-fitting sleeves are buttoned with closely-set diminutive buttons down to the wrists. The mantle is attached by a cord in front of the breast, fastened on each side to a lozenge-shaped fermal. The head reposes on a swan, and the feet rest against a dog.¹

arms of Griffin differed from his paternal coat in color only, being chequy *arg.* and *sa.* Wild suggests that the effigy may represent Maude de Evereus, sister of Bishop Giffard; she was buried in the Cathedral near the spot chosen by that prelate for his own tomb. The effigy is also figured in Hollis' *Monumental Effigies*, and it is described as the memorial of a lady of the Clifford family. The bearing on the escutcheons upon the mantle are there shown as chequy *or* and *az.* a fess *or*.

⁸ Thus given by Gough. 1 and 5, *gu.* a fess between 3 martlets *or* impaling *or* a fess *sa.* between three crescents *gu.*; Pateshall; 2 and 4, *gu.* a fess between 6 martlets *or*; Beauchamp of Powick; 3, *gu.* a fess between 6 cross crosslets *or*; Beauchamp. On the surcoat of the effigy *gu.* a fess *or*.

⁹ See a full account of this tomb in Gough's *Sep. Mon.* vol. ii. p. 191. It is figured by Dr. Thomas, p. 93.

¹ Two views of this effigy, full face and profile, are given in Hollis' *Monu-*

These are all the effigies in the cathedral of a period anterior to the Reformation. The tomb and brass of Bishop de Winchcomb, who died in 1401, no longer exist. The monument, a high tomb with architectural details, of Sir Thomas Littleton, of Frankley, the celebrated judge and commentator, who died in 1481, is still to be seen against the south wall of the south aisle of the nave; but this was despoiled, in the civil wars, of the brass effigy, described by Abingdon in his Survey, representing him in his robes as a judge. The tomb in the south transept, of Sir Griffyth Ryce, who died in 1523, exhibits architectural features on the sides and ends;² but this also has been bereaved of his portraiture in brass, together with that of his lady. This and the altar tomb of Prince Arthur, without any effigy, but the sides covered with architectural details, may be considered amongst the latest examples anterior to the introduction of the semi-classic school of art. The prince died at Ludlow in 1502; the sepulchral chapel, wherein his tomb is placed, is a rich specimen of the late Gothic work of the early part of the sixteenth century. It consists of screens of open and closed panel-work enriched with heraldic achievements and devices—the rose, pomegranate, ostrich plume, fleur-de-lys, the fetter-lock, and portcullis—and imagery, but coarsely executed, and by no means to be compared with earlier sculptured accessories in the cathedral.³

Of the post-Reformation bishops we find no cenotaph or memorial either of Latimer or Hooper. Bishop Bullingham, who died in 1576, was the first of the bishops of the Reformed Church buried in this cathedral. His monument is placed within the north wall of the choir, near the east end.⁴ The upper and lower portions only of the body appear, the intervening wall and inscription dividing them; this was probably the original design, as we find similar monuments at Lichfield and elsewhere. He is represented as attired in a close-fitting skull-cap, with moustaches and long flowing beard; a ruff about his neck, and a bible in his hands; he wears a cassock with close-fitting sleeves, and

mental Effigies. It is there described as the memorial of the wife of John Lord Beauchamp of Holt, beheaded 1388.

² Figured in Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 71.

³ See representations of this elaborate

memorial in Sandford's General History, Green's Hist. Worc., Britton's Worc. Cath., &c.

⁴ Figured in Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 41.

apparently a doctor's gown over it. The dress is not clearly developed, but it does not appear to have consisted of the episcopal robes. Perhaps Bishop Bullingham was interested in the vestiarian controversy of 1564.

Under an arch in the south wall of the south aisle of the nave, but removed from its original position, which was under a coved monument with horizontal entablature against the north wall of the north-east transept, and which appears to have been destroyed, though it existed in 1730 and is figured in Dr. Thomas' Survey, p. 63, is the effigy of Bishop Parrie, who died in 1616. He is represented with moustaches and a square-cut beard; a skull-cap closely fits his head, and he is vested in the episcopal habit of the Reformed Church—the rochet and chimere, the latter reaching to a little below the knees, with full sleeves. The hands are upraised vertically, and conjoined as in prayer. The shoes are broad-toed. This effigy is rudely and unartistically sculptured.

On the north side of the nave towards the west end, is a monument consisting of an horizontal entablature supported by Corinthian columns, with a coved or circular arch beneath it. Above the entablature is an escutcheon with armorial bearings and ensigned with a mitre. Under this, on a nearly plain high tomb, is the somewhat mutilated effigy of Bishop Thornborough, who died in 1641.⁵ He is represented with moustaches and beard; his head covered with a close-fitting skull-cap; round his neck is a ruff. The rochet is plaited in front, and over it is the chimere with full sleeves; the scarf falls down on either side from the shoulders. This monument has been removed of late years from the position it formerly occupied near the east end of the Lady Chapel on the north side. This is the latest recumbent effigy of a bishop in Worcester Cathedral.

The monument of Bishop Gauden, who died in 1662, is mural.⁶ Within an oval recess is a full-faced bust, representing him with long hair, moustaches and beard; he wears a falling collar and episcopal robes, the rochet and chimere, and holds a book in his right hand. The monuments of Bishop Fleetwood, who died 1683, of Bishop Thomas, who died 1689, and of Bishop Stillingfleet, who died in 1699, are of common-place design, unadorned with

⁵ Dr. Thomas' Survey, p. 46.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 52.

sculpture. That of Bishop Hough, the venerable President of Magdalen College, Oxford, in the reign of James II., and who died in 1743, was executed by Roubiliac, and, as the work of one of the most celebrated sculptors of the last century, it is well deserving of attention.⁷ Of more modern monuments I do not treat.

As there is only one effigy of a prior in this cathedral, so it contains only one of a dean, Richard Eedes, who died in 1604.⁸ This is within a canopied monument, now placed on the south side of the nave, towards the west end. It was formerly between the piers on the south side of the Lady Chapel, near the east end. An obtuse two-centred arch, supporting an entablature, architrave, frieze, and cornice, surmounted by scrollwork without any heraldry, and flanked by Corinthian pillars, forms the canopy. On a sarcophagus-shaped tomb lies the effigy of the dean, represented with moustaches and beard; there is a scull-cap on the head, the neck is surrounded by a ruff, the gown is open in front and has hanging sleeves with cuffs; the hands are joined in prayer. The shoulders repose on a large cushion, on which a book is placed, and upon this the head lies.

There is one singular mural monument affixed to the north wall of the choir, near the east end. It is of a very common seventeenth-century design, with Corinthian columns supporting a divided semicircular pediment. In the division of the pediment is an escutcheon surrounded with scrollwork. This monument exhibits a small nude emaciated effigy in a reclining position, partly enveloped in a shroud. This effigy is well executed.

On the south side of the nave is a high tomb of the seventeenth century; the sides are divided into three compartments by sun-flowers rising from vases. Each compartment contains a shield, of which the central one only is surrounded with scroll-work. These shields are emblazoned in relief and painted. At the lower end of the tomb is a shield surrounded with scroll-work. On the one side of this is represented a bow and arrow and a drum; on the

⁷ This monument is mentioned amongst the best productions of Roubiliac, of which a list is given in the notes to Walpole's *Anecdotes*, Dallaway's edit., vol. iv. p. 195. It has been engraved in

Mr. Wilmot's *Life of Bishop Hough*, p. 110, and in Green's *Hist. Worc.*, vol. i. p. 157.

⁸ Dr. Thomas' *Survey*, p. 48.

other side appears a drum, a spear, a spade, and a bill-hook. On this tomb are recumbent effigies of a civilian and his lady, representing Robert Wilde, Esquire, and Margaret his wife; she died June 1, 1606, aged 82; and he died January 27, 1607, aged 72. He is represented as bare-headed, with moustaches on his upper lip and a pointed beard, with a ruff; he is attired in a doublet buttoned down in front, over which is a long gown reaching to the feet, with demi-cannon sleeves hanging down; beneath the gown appear the sleeves of the doublet. His hands are conjoined on the breast as in prayer, and his feet rest against a lion. His lady appears in a cap and tippet on her head, a ruff, close-fitting gown and petticoat, and a robe over them open in front with a sash round the waist. The cuffs are vandyked, and the hands are conjoined on the breast. Against the pier, at the head of this monument, is the epitaph.

In conclusion, I must remark the absence and, I fear, the destruction of a sepulchral slab, formerly on the floor near the monument of Judge Littleton, commemorative of Sir Thomas Littleton, of Frankley, in the county of Worcester, who died February 22, 1649, and Dame Catherine his wife, who died June 24, 1666, full of years and good works. This worthy knight appointed the following impressive words to be inscribed on that stone:—

LET NO MAN SLIGHT HIS MORTALITIE.

A mitred effigy at the back of the altar screen (p. 344), attributed to an abbot of Evesham, doubtless represents one of the later priors of Worcester. Clement VI. granted to Prior John of Evesham, in 1351, and to his successors, the privilege of using the mitre, *baculus*, ring, and other pontifical ornaments; this was limited by Urban V., in 1363, to obviate any apparent rivalry with the prelates of the sec. It was then ordained that the prior should wear the precious mitre and full pontificals only in the bishop's absence, and with "*bordono argenteo botonum argenteum habente in capite absque alio ornatu*;"—expressly requiring that such *bordonus* "*ad modum pastoralis baculi non sit factus*." Wilkins, Conc., t. iii., p. 201.—A. W.

Original Documents.

THE GIFTS OF ÆTHELWOLD, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER (A.D. 963—984), TO THE MONASTERY OF PETERBOROUGH.

From a Transcript by the late Mr. J. M. KEMBLE, from a Register in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, and communicated by the Very Rev. CANON ROCK, D.D.

THE rule of the first monarch of Albion, Edgar, emphatically styled *Basileus* or Emperor of the Anglo-Saxons, has deservedly been held in remembrance as the most remarkable crisis, probably, in the earlier annals of our country. The accession of the youthful sovereign occurred at a period when oppression and misrule—the miseries of piratical rapine from without and of internal anarchy—had brought the nation very low; to these evils succeeded, through the vigorous councils and wise policy of Edgar the Pacific and of his ministers, an interval of comparatively felicitous tranquillity. The rapacity of the plundering Northmen had long extinguished the greater number of the monastic establishments, which at an earlier period attained to so flourishing a condition, and had relaxed the sinews of ecclesiastical discipline. The richly-endowed monasteries had fallen into woful decay; their deserted possessions were by degrees distributed amongst the neighbouring thanes, and all endeavors to reanimate the monastic order had hitherto proved unavailing.

The calamities of devastation by the Danes, which fell so heavily in the ninth century upon East Anglia and the important conventual houses of the Fen district, had destroyed the establishments at Ely, Thorney, and Croyland. Peterborough—in early times known as Medeshamstede, from the meadows, probably, which there lie on the margins of the river Nen—had been totally laid waste in 870. It were unnecessary to offer any notice of the origin or previous history of that monastery; they have been set forth by one of the ablest writers on the early church history of our country, and his memoir, delivered at the meeting of the Institute at Peterborough in 1861, has been printed in this Journal.¹ After an interval of a century Croyland was restored by Thurkytel, and perhaps owing to his example, as Mr. Stubbs observes, Æthelwold directed all his energies to rear again the other great monasteries of East Anglia from their ashes. One of the earliest measures after the accession of the youthful Edgar had been the recall of the exiled abbot of Glastonbury, Dunstan, whose counsels essentially contributed to establish a sound and vigorous government. Amongst other persons of prominent influence were Oswald, Dunstan's successor in the see of Worcester, and Dunstan's favorite disciple Æthelwold, promoted to that of Winchester. With their active co-opera-

¹ The Foundation and Early Fasti of Peterborough, by the Rev. W. Stubbs, Arch. Journ., vol. xviii. p. 194.

tion Dunstan undertook to raise the monastic establishments from their ruins; Edgar was induced to sell or grant the lands which had fallen to the Crown after the extinction of the monks, whilst of those which had come into private hands part was recovered by purchase, and still more by voluntary restitution.

The renovation of Medeshamstede by Æthelwold presents perhaps the most characteristic feature of this great ecclesiastical crisis. The story is related with minute detail by Hugo Candidus, who probably had access to authentic materials.² St. Æthelwold had been admonished by a vision to repair towards the midland parts of England until he should find a certain ancient monastery of St. Peter in ruins; this he was directed to renovate. He first reached Oundle (*Undala*), and, supposing it to be the site indicated, he there began to build; but being warned to proceed further, at length his steps were guided to the vestiges of the monastery, and to the church, converted into a stable for cattle. In grief that so fair a temple of God should be brought to such unseemly decay, he forthwith set himself to clear out the site; and, having ascertained the magnitude of the work before him, he returned to Winchester to make suitable preparations. We must refer the reader to the circumstantial narrative of the monk of Peterborough; it may suffice here to mention that the bishop's prayers for divine help, and especially that the hearts of Edgar, his consort, and nobles might be disposed in favor of the work, having accidentally been overheard by the queen, her interest was aroused and Edgar was readily prevailed upon to supply ample means for the restoration. Shortly after, the king with his chancellor and courtiers visited the ruins of Medeshamstede, and numerous precious gifts were offered towards the work. Through the royal bounty the monastery was completed in A. D. 970, the chancellor becoming the first abbot. Thenceforward the place appears to have received the name of Burch or Burg—*Burgus Sancti Petri*. Of the munificence of Edgar ample evidences have been preserved in the ancient register of Peterborough, the *Niger Liber*, now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. The same venerable volume, which by the courteous permission of the Council of the Society was once more brought back to Peterborough on the occasion of the meeting of the Institute at that place, contains also a record of the precious gifts of the Bishop of Winchester, through whose exertions the revival of the monastery had been achieved.³

It must be observed that the subjoined document consists only of a portion of the entry in the *Niger Liber*. The "Donationes Æthelwoldi Episcopi" included lands and possessions in various places there detailed, as may be seen in the Monasticon, where the entire record has been

² Hist. Angl. Script., ed. Sparke, p. 16. Hugo Candidus is supposed to have lived in the times of Henry III.

³ Two ancient Registers of Peterborough were presented to the Society of Antiquaries by the Earl of Exeter in 1788. They were unknown to Bishop Tanner and to Dugdale. The oldest of these, some parts of which are of the twelfth century, is a folio volume, and has this memorandum on the first leaf in a later hand: "Iste liber vocatus *Niger*

Liber, Anglice the Blacke Bowke." It is marked No. 60 in the Society's Catalogue of MSS. An index of the more interesting entries in this register is given in the Monasticon, Caley's edition, vol. i. p. 372. This precious MS. contains a Chronicle from 1022 to 1295, edited for the Camden Society by the late Mr. Stapleton, with an appendix of extracts relating to the manors and possessions of the Abbey.

printed.⁴ We have here extracted the portion only relating to ornaments and appliances of sacred use, with an inventory of books, twenty in number, the precious nucleus of that almost unrivalled library which Peterborough in after times possessed, consisting of upwards of 1700 MSS., and of which Gunton has printed a *Matricularium* or catalogue, without date, frequently cited in the following notices. These two brief portions are interesting as almost the earliest evidences of their class; and their republication, it is hoped, requires no excuse when it is considered that they are given in the *Monasticon* unaccompanied by any explanatory comment on the illustrations which they present of sacred usages, and also of literary history, in Anglo-Saxon times.

We have, moreover, very gladly availed ourselves of the friendly communication by Canon Rock of the transcript used in printing the following document. It appeared to possess a special interest, having been taken from the *Niger Liber* by the hand of our lamented friend Kemble, who has printed only the introductory sentences in his great work.⁵ Had his life been spared to complete an extended edition of the *Codex Diplomaticus*, according to the intention announced in this *Journal* shortly before his decease, that valuable work being, as he observed, "no longer to be obtained except at an extravagant price,"⁶ the extracts from the *Black Book of Peterborough*, with numerous other precious materials which he had selected, would doubtless have been ere this printed.

In the enumeration of objects of sacred use, ornaments, vestments, and the like, one of the earliest lists of church appliances which have come under our notice, we find first an *Evangelary* or *Textus*, emphatically designated Christ's Book; the binding or *theca* was enriched with silver; also three roods or crosses. So likewise amongst Bishop Leofric's gifts to the church at Exeter, *c.* 1050, we find "ij. mycele Cristes bec gebonede," that is, probably, in bindings with sculptures in ivory. Of the costly decorations in which the books of the Gospels were anciently encased numerous descriptions might be cited, such as the *Inventory of the Treasures of Christ Church, Canterbury*, printed by Dart, App. p. xvii. In the epitaph of Wilfred, Bishop of Hexham at the close of the seventh century, amongst his benefactions it was recorded that he caused the Gospels to be written in gold and "theam e rubilo his condignam condidit auro." *Bede, Hist. lib. v. c.* 19.

The gifts of Bishop Æthelwold next described consist of candlesticks, doubtless for the altar, one pair of silver and another gilded. In regard to the use of lights in ritual observances among the Anglo-Saxons, we may refer to the valuable treatise by Canon Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*, vol. iii. part 2, p. 107. The silver "storcille" was, as he informs us, a thurible;⁷ the term occurs in the Anglo-Saxon version, *Lev. x. 1*; *Numb. xvi. 6*. A "water fet" of brass is mentioned, with another of more precious material; these were *situlae*, stoups or fats for the holy water, the use of which is found amongst the earliest rites of the Anglo-Saxon church. Pope Gregory directed St. Augustine to hallow the fanes of pagan idolatry by aspersion with holy water.⁸ With silver bells, chalices and patens, the

⁴ Dugdale's *Monast. Angl.*, Caley's edit., vol. i. p. 382.

⁵ Kemble, *Codex Dipl.*, tom. vi. p. 101.

⁶ *Arch. Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 59, note.

⁷ See the form of a censer of this

period in St. Æthelwold's *Benedictional*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. pl. 20.

⁸ *Ancient Laws of England*, ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 58; Dr. Rock's *Church of Our Fathers*, vol. iii. part 2, p. 111.

list contains a remarkable item,—a “silver pipe.” We have here an evidence of the ancient liturgical practice observed amongst the Anglo-Saxons, and likewise in other countries, in the administration of the Eucharist; each communicant drank of the hallowed contents of the chalice, not by putting his lips to its brim, but through a pipe of precious metal, ivory, or glass, termed *sipho*, *calamus*, *pipa*, *canna*, or *fistula*. This usage continued in England until communion under both kinds ceased to be given to the laity. Mention of gilded *cannæ* occurs amongst gifts to the church of Autun in the sixth century. Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, A. D. 1050—1072, presented also to his cathedral, amongst numerous sacred vessels and vestments, three silver chalices and “j. silfren pipe.”—Kemble, Cod. Dipl. t. iv. p. 275. Roger de Hoveden likewise enumerates “*fistulas*” amongst sacred appliances distributed to the principal churches and monasteries by William Rufus, in pursuance of the last wishes of the Conqueror, his father. The subject of this ancient Eucharistic rite has been fully treated by Dr. Rock, Church of Our Fathers, vol. i. p. 161.

The Peterborough inventory then proceeds to the enumeration of vestments, hangings, &c. With the chasubles and copes occurs “j. roc,” which Dr. Rock explains as a tunic for the sub-deacon, and “xj. subumbrale,” a term which he considers to signify a long garment worn under the alb, and usually called *subucula* or *poderis*, a linen robe which the priest put on over his common dress when he celebrated mass.² The use of the *subucula* was enjoined by the canons enacted in the reign of Edgar.¹ The word “pistol clapas,” Dr. Rock explains as “coverings for the Book of the Epistles to be read at high mass;”² the Book of the Gospels was pre-eminently called Christ’s Book and distinguished, as a mark of higher honor, by a binding of gold or silver set with jewels, as shown in this very document. The *Textus*, as the Book of the Gospels was called even to a late period, was usually preserved in a gold or silver case. These “pistol clapas” were called forels at a later time and are still in use.³ We next find “offrine scentas.” These were sometimes of silk, but commonly of linen; they were used whenever any object was to be carried solemnly to the altar; especially, for instance, on Maunday Thursday when the vases with the three oils were brought by the acolytes to be hallowed. See Ducange, v. Offertorium. “Linen web to albæn,” as Canon Rock supposes, were apparels for albs; and “blace rægl cæsternisce” may signify black embroidered garments. In Ælfric’s Glossary we find the term “Cæster-wyrhta; *Polymitaris*,” an embroiderer. Amongst Bishop Leofric’s gifts to Exeter Cathedral in the eleventh century occur, as in this list, hangings, “ij. wah-ræft,” and likewise “ricg-hrægel, setl-hrægel,” dorsers and

² Church of Our Fathers, vol. i. p. 460.

¹ Ancient Laws and Inst. of England, ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 250.

² Compare, however, the list of Bishop Leofric’s gifts to Exeter, in which we find, with five complete mass vestments, two dalmatics, and “ij. pistolroccas,” probably tunics for sub-deacons. The peculiar forms of the chasuble and other vestments, and also of hangings, altar coverings, and the like, at the period, are illustrated in a very interesting manner in the Benedictional written for Bishop

Æthelwold by his chaplain Godeman. See Archæologia, vol. xxiv. plates 3, 29, 30, 32, the latter possibly representing the Bishop himself in a church.

³ Sometimes, however, the Book of Epistles was bound in silver and called *Textus*, as in an Inventory of the ornaments in the church of Salisbury, A.D. 1214, in which we find—“Texti ij. ex utraque parte cooperti argento quorum unus continet Evangelia et alius Epistolas.”

coverings for seats, "v. pællene weofod-sceatas"—altar coverings of purple, of pelt or skins.⁴ Kemble reads "wællene," probably for wyllene, woollen. *Od. Dipl. t. iv. p. 275.*

Æthelwold, it will be observed, gave to Peterborough a considerable donation of bells, of which ten are described as hanging bells; seven were hand-bells.⁵ In Ælfric's catalogue of church appliances we find, "Clocca, belle; Tintinnabulum, litel belle; Campana, mycel belle." It may be remembered that Æthelwold, like his great master, Dunstan, was a skilful fabricator of bells. We learn from the Abingdon Register that he placed in that monastery two bells made by his own hands, with two of larger size made, as affirmed, by Dunstan. Æthelwold's master-piece of mechanism was a *rota tintinnabulis plena*, the harmonious sounds of which excited the worshippers to devotion. *Cott. MS. Claud. B. vi. f. 84.*

Horns occur frequently amongst ornaments and rare or precious objects presented to churches and suspended near altars or elsewhere. Six are found amongst Æthelwold's gifts to Peterborough, four of them ornamented.⁶ Bishop Leofric presented four "hornes" to Exeter Cathedral about A. D. 1060, with bone or ivory goblets, and six "mæsene sceala," possibly the brass hanging basins of which highly-enriched examples occur of the Anglo-Saxon period. These *gabata*, with crowns, large horns, for the most part probably of ivory, and sculptured, also ostrich's eggs frequently attributed to the fabulous griffin or grype, are constantly represented suspended in churches, as seen in early illuminations. The horns not uncommonly served to contain relics; occasionally they had been drinking vessels, such as the precious "*cornu vinaciura*" given by Harold to Waltham Abbey and carried away to Normandy by the Conqueror. Such horns appear frequently in convivial scenes in the Bayeux Tapestry. In perusing the subjoined list of Æthelwold's gifts, the supposition is not inadmissible that some of them may have been the work of his own hand. Like St. Dunstan, he cultivated music and the arts, and is said to have been skilled in all metal works. During the time that he was abbot of Abingdon, before he was raised to the see of Winchester, he made an elaborate *tabula* of silver of the value of 300*l.*, long preserved by the monks of Abingdon as their greatest treasure. Of his munificence and taste as a patron of art, the Benedictional written for him by his chaplain, Godeman, afterwards abbot of Thorney, is also an evidence. That sumptuous volume, executed in this country between A. D. 963 and 984, partly written in burnished gold with large illuminations of singular beauty, is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire; it was the subject of a valuable

⁴ See in St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. pl. 32, a dark violet altar-covering with a gold bordure.

⁵ It is interesting to examine the contemporary illumination, probably intended to portray St. Æthelwold, in his Benedictional, *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. pl. 32. He appears standing before an altar in a church, of which a little tower is seen above with several bells.

⁶ A charter of Æthelstan to Durham, printed in the *Monasticon*, mentions "quatuor magnas campanas, et 3 cornua auro et argento fabricata." In the *Reg. Rossense* it is recorded that the Con-

queror on his death-bed gave "proprium suum cornu eburneum." See also the Inventory of St. Paul's, London, printed by Dugdale, under the heading, "Ciphi et Cornua," and the list of ivory horns containing relics which were appended "sub trabe ultra magnum altare" at Christ Church, Canterbury. *Cott. MS. Galba E. iv. f. 127.* Examples have been preserved at York Minster and elsewhere. A large golden iuk-horn appears in Æthelwold's Benedictional, in the miniature of St. John the Evangelist, *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. pl. 14.

dissertation by the late Mr. Gage Rokewode published with numerous facsimiles in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 1.

The subjoined list of books is not the least curious portion of the document to which, through the kindness of Canon Rock, our attention has been called. Though brief and more than commonly obscure through the concise terms in which the titles of the various MSS. are given, it well deserves notice as one of the earliest of the illustrations of the state of literature in our country in Anglo-Saxon times. Alcuin's poetical description of Archbishop Egbert's library at York in the eighth century, the brief list of the library of Athelstan, a scientific scholar in the following century, preserved in a MS. in the British Museum,⁷ and the very curious enumeration of Bishop Leofric's donations to Exeter, about A.D. 1050,⁸ to which frequent reference has been made in the foregoing observations, are amongst the most remarkable evidences of their class hitherto noticed. We cannot close these observations without regret that the sudden decease of our lamented friend Mr. Botfield has deprived us of the contribution to the history of Literature promised in the works on Early Conventual and Private Libraries in the Middle Ages upon which he had long been engaged, and of which he had given a valuable earnest in his volume of Catalogues of the Libraries of Durham Cathedral and Hulne Abbey edited for the Surtees Society.

It is with much pleasure that we express thanks to Mr. Thorpe, by whom the translation of the following extracts transcribed by our friend Kemble has been kindly supplied. We have alluded to the sad cause of our disappointed expectation of an enlarged edition of the *Codex Diplomaticus* with translations of the Anglo-Saxon portions. Some amends it was hoped might ere this have been afforded in the promised volume of charters from the reign of Æthelbert of Kent, A.D. 605, with translations, a complement to the *Codex*, to which the learned editor of the "Laws and Institutes of England" has devoted many years. On a former occasion we invited attention to Mr. Thorpe's work as ready for the press, awaiting only encouragement from those who ought to take lively interest in the monuments of our early history.⁹ We may now state with satisfaction that the publication of his *Diplomatorium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici* may speedily be anticipated, through the generous aid of one whose noble liberality in regard to National Antiquities is well known, but pre-eminently in the rescue of the precious "Faussett Collection," of which he is the fortunate possessor.

NOTES ON BOOKS GIVEN BY BISHOP ÆTHELWOLD TO PETERBOROUGH.

1. Bede in Marcum.—The voluminous writings of the Venerable Bede are those, as might be supposed, of most frequent occurrence in catalogues of our early monastic libraries. Of his "Expositio evangelii secundum Marcum" Pits specially cites MSS. in the collegiate libraries of Baliol and Merton. It has been printed in the collections of the Works of Bede.

⁷ Cott. MS. Domit. A. 1.; f. 55 v°. See Mr. Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit., published by the Roy. Soc. of Literature, Ang. Sax. Period, p. 38.

⁸ Kemble, *Codex Dipl.*; t. iv. p. 274, from Harl. MS. 258, f. 125 b.; MS. Bodl. Auct. D. 2, 16. The list is also preserved

at Exeter, in the Exeter Book, and a copy is in Add. MS. 9067. See Mon. Angl., Caley's edit. vol. ii. p. 528.

⁹ Arch. Jour. vol. xix. p. 192. See the recent correspondence in Gent. Mag., 1864, vol. i. pp. 85, 222.

2. *Liber Miraculorum*.—This may have been the treatise by Bede "De septem mundi miraculis libellus," Pits, p. 137; to the same learned writer is attributed a treatise, "*De miraculis S. Cudberti*," and the like of the miracles of St. Patrick. Canon Rock, however, suggests that this *Liber* may have been the work of St. Gregory the Great mentioned by Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 1, and comprising the miracles of the saints in the form of dialogues.

3. *Expositio Hebreorum nominum*.—Pits assigns to Bede the "Interpretationes nominum Hebræorum et Græcorum in Sacris Bibliis. lib. unum. *Has apprehendens vel apprehensio*." It has been printed in the early editions of Bede's Works, but we are indebted to Dr. Rock for the observation that this treatise was in fact written by Remy a monk of St. Germain d'Auxerre, c. A.D. 908. In the *Matricularium Librariæ* of Peterborough occur "Interpretationes Bedæ de quibusdam nominibus Hebraicis;—Expositio Hebraicorum nominum secundum Alphabetum;—Significationes quorundam nominum secundum Alphabetum." Gunton, App. pp. 178, 197, 205. A work, however, with a similar title is attributed to St. Jerome which is found in the same catalogue,—"Hieronymus de Interpretationibus Hebraicorum nominum." Ibid. p. 174.

4. *Provisio futurarum rerum*.—Canon Rock remarks that this may have been some moral treatise or exhortation to a good life and provision for the future by laying up treasures where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, in reference to Matt. vi. 19, 20.

5. *Augustinus de academicis*.—This was doubtless the treatise entitled, "*Contra Academicos*," in three books; it is mentioned by Cave and other writers and has been printed in the works of St. Augustine.

6. *Vita sancti Felicis metricæ*.—St. Felix the Burgundian, the apostle of the East Angles, who was ordained bishop by Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by whom their exiled prince Sigebert had been baptised in France, is probably the saint whose metrical legend is here intended. He established his see at Dunwich in Suffolk, and died A.D. 646. St. Felix is spoken of by Bede, Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. 15; by Malmesbury, and Barth. de Cotton, Wharton, Ang. Sac., t. i. p. 403; his life is given in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*. His relics were removed from Dunwich to Ramsey in the time of Canute. In the *Matricularium* of the library at Peterborough, before referred to, several lives of saints are enumerated, described as "*metricæ compositæ*," "*versificæ*," &c., but I have failed in the search for that of St. Felix. This MS., however, the gift of St. Æthelwold, may have been there preserved through troublous times until the Dissolution. Amongst the volumes, fifteen only in number, mentioned by Leland as in the "*Bibliotheca*" at Peterborough, occurs "*Vita Felicis eleganti carmine scripta*," and likewise "*Vita S. Eustachii carmine heroico*," which may have been the identical copies given by the Bishop of Winchester to the monastery, as appears in the list under consideration. See No. 8, *infra*. It is believed that Felixstow or Flixstow in Suffolk was named from St. Felix, who established schools there with the encouragement of Sigebert.

7. *Sinonima Isidori*.—Amongst the numerous writings of the learned Bishop of Seville (A.D. 596—636) were Meditations and Moral Precepts, usually entitled "*Soliloquia*," of which several copies so described existed in the Peterborough Library, according to the *Matricularium* printed by Gunton, App. pp. 177, 180, 215. This work was, however, not uncommonly entitled *Synonyma*, as we are told—"quia eadem res aliis aliisque verbis repetita inculcatur." The first edition printed at Mersbourg in 1479 and likewise that printed at Antwerp in 1488 were thus entitled. It has been repeatedly published. An Italian version appeared at Venice in 1570. See Fabric. Bibl. Med. Lat., Brunet, &c.

8. *Vita Eustachii*.—St. Eustasius or Eustachius was abbot of Luxen, one of the monasteries founded in the mountains of Lorraine by St. Columban, whose disciple he was. He succeeded that great teacher, A.D. 611, and died 625. Amongst the voluminous works of Bede Pits has given "*Vitam S. Eustasii Abbatis, lib. unum*," commencing with the words—"Venerabilis Eustasius disci." His Life, however, as Canon Rock informs us, has probably been incorrectly thus attributed; it was written by a fellow-monk Jonas, and is given by Mabillon, and also by the Bollandists, Acta SS. March 29. The Life, however, of which a MS. was bestowed by Æthelwold on the monks of Medeshamstede, appears to have been in verse, if we may accept the supposition already stated (see No. 6, *supra*), that the MS. had been preserved, and was actually that found by Leland in their library and described in his brief list as "*Vita S. Eustachii carmine heroico*." Coll. vol. iii. p. 28.

9. *Descidia parisiace polis*.—We have sought in vain to identify the treatise here designated, without mention of the author, by this singular title which seems to signify, The idleness or luxurious indulgence of the city of Paris. The Græcism, *polis* for *urbs*, occurs in Elmham's Life of Henry V., edit. Hearn. p. 185. See also other examples of the use of the word in Ducange, ed. Henschel. Æthelwold had been eagerly desirous to visit France and to profit by the learning in the schools and monasteries which flourished in that country. On his request, however, for permission to leave England it was refused by Edred, who was unwilling that his kingdom should lose so learned and eminent a scholar. It might almost be imagined that the treatise had been placed before Æthelwold to dissuade him from his purpose of resorting to Paris.

10. *Medicinalis*.—It were in vain to attempt, no author's name being mentioned, to form a conjecture what the treatise here intended may have been. We find in the Peterborough *Matricularium* certain MSS. enumerated thus:—"Ars Medicinalis;—Rasis, et Almasor Autores—per x. libros de Physica;—Liber Matthæi Platearii de simplici medicina;" also an *Antidotarium* with other medicinal treatises. Gunton, App. pp. 187, 188. These particulars are not without interest as showing the resources connected with the healing art in monastic establishments. Their nature and extent are more fully shown in the ancient Durham Catalogue, xii. cent. edited by the late Mr. Botfield for the Surtees Society. See in that volume, at p. 7, the curious list of books "*quos Magister Herebertus Medicus dedit Sancto Cuthberto*."

11. *De duodecim abusivis*.—This may probably have been the treatise

"de duodecim abusionibus sæculi" which appears to have been in very high estimation, and has been attributed to two most eminent ecclesiastical writers, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine. MSS. occur in the Peterborough *Matricularium Librariæ*—"Tractatus Cypriani de xij. abusivis sæculi" (Gunton, App. p. 181). "Versus de duodecim abusionibus clericalibus: Versus de duodecim abusionibus sæculi" (p. 205); "Tractatus de duodecim abusionibus sæculi metricæ compositus" (p. 207); "Versus de xij. abusionibus" (p. 212); "Augustinus de xij. abusionibus" (p. 218). We find also "Tractatus de xij. abusionibus claustrii: Tractatus de xij. abusionibus sæculi" (p. 217). In the Catalogue of the Lambeth MSS. are enumerated copies of St. Augustine's work "de xij. abusionibus,—de xij. abusivis sæculi," &c. (pp. 212, 214, 218). The treatise "de duodecim abusionibus sæculi,"—"tractatus perperam Cypriano et Augustino adscriptus" (in prose), may be found amongst "opuscula vulgo ascripta S. Cypriano"; S. Cæcili Cypriani Opera, stud. Baluz., Paris, 1726, p. cclxxv. It appears that there existed a work with a similar title, in verse, which may have been only a metrical paraphrase of the favorite moral composition attributed to the learned Bishop of Carthage.

12. Sermo super quosdam Psalmos.—It were in vain to attempt to identify this amongst the numerous discourses upon various portions of the Psalter, and the "Sermones diversi," occurring continually in the Peterborough Catalogue. Leland found there in the library a MS. of "Girardus Cameracensis super Psalterium."

13. Commentum Cantica Canticorum.—The Song of Solomon was a favorite theme amongst the early and mediæval commentators on Scripture. Here, again, no author being named, we are unable to identify the gift of Æthelwold. Bede wrote a work in seven books on the Canticles "contra Julianum expositionem." Of the "expositio Bernardi super Cantica Canticorum" a copy existed in the Peterborough library. Gunton, App. p. 184. Other treatises on the same portion of Scripture occur *ibid.*, p. 190, and likewise one by a monk of Croyland,—"Robertus Tumbley super Cantica Canticorum" (p. 176), doubtless the same MS. which was noticed by Leland in his brief note of the contents of the Peterborough Library, "Robertus de Tumbleia super Cantica." Coll. vol. iii. p. 31. He cites also a copy which existed in the library at Croyland. Pits was unable to ascertain the period when this writer lived; it were almost needless to observe that it was doubtless much later than the date of the document under consideration.

14. De Eucharistia.—The *Matricularium* of the Peterborough Library gives us a MS. entitled "Tractatus de Eucharistia et aliis festivitatibus anni." Gunton, App. p. 216.

15. Commentum Martiani.—We have sought in vain to identify this work satisfactorily. The voluminous writings of Martianus Capella, sometimes styled the Carthaginian, who flourished in the fifth or according to some in the third century, were highly esteemed. They have been frequently printed. He wrote a kind of encyclopedia in prose and verse mixed, entitled *Satyricon*, and treatises on the liberal arts, Grammar, Geometry, Astronomy, Music, &c. See Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. lib. iii. c. xvii., and

Brunet, v. Capella. In the Inventories of the library of Exeter, in 1327 occur—"Marchianus de vij. Artibus;—Liber Marciiani";—and in 1506—"Martianus Grammaticus." Lives of the Bishops of Exeter by the late Rev. Dr. Oliver, pp. 308, 367. We have failed to find any treatise by Martian with the title "Commentum." Leland, however, found in the library at Worcester the "Commentarii Duncaht, pontificis Hiberniensis, super libros Martiani Capellæ, opus eruditum." Coll. vol. iii. p. 268.

16. Alchimi Aviti.—St. Avit, Alchimus Avitus, or Alcimus Ecditius, was bishop of Vienne in Dauphiny, A.D. 490; he died in 525, distinguished for piety and learning. His writings rank highly amongst works of the Christian Poets; they form six books consisting of short poems on the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and the Passage of the Red Sea; also an epistle in 800 verses on Chastity, addressed to his sister St. Puscina. In the enumeration given by Alcuin of the principal authors whose works were in the rich library at York collected by Bishop Egbert (A.D. 735—766), mention occurs of the poets then most in esteem, Sedulius, Juvencus, Alcimus,¹ Clemens, Prosper, and others; these are placed even before the classical writers, Virgil, Statius, and Lucan. The poems of Avitus—"De origine mundi, De peccato originali, De sententia Dei,"—present, as Guizot has observed, striking features of analogy with Milton's Paradise Lost in their general conception and in some remarkable passages.² The Poems of St. Avitus were first published in 1507; numerous editions in that and the following century, with the comments of learned theologians, show the great esteem in which those writings were held. The best edition is that by Sismondi, Paris, 1643. See Brunet.

17. Liber differentiarum.—In the *Matricularium Librariæ Monasterii Petriburgensis* printed by Gunton, App. p. 218, c. xiv., occurs "Liber differentiarum Isidori." Of the treatise by the learned Bishop of Seville "de differentiis sive proprietate verborum" see Fabricius, tom. iv. Bibl. Med. Lat. In the same Catalogue, Gunton, p. 206, another MS. is mentioned which has a somewhat similar title—"Versus differentiarum;—Tractatus de Physica," with other miscellaneous writings. There occurs, moreover, amongst the miscellaneous writings attributed to Bede, a treatise entitled "De differentiis vocabulorum" which may possibly have been the work here intended. Pits, p. 138.

18. Cilicius Ciprianus.—It has been suggested with considerable probability that the author here intended may have been the eminent Father of the Latin Church, Cæcilius Cyprianus, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 248. There can be little doubt that the voluminous writings of St. Cyprian were known in this country at an early period. The treatise "de xij. abusivis seculi" attributed to him has already occurred in the list before us. See No. 11, *supra*.

19. De litteris Grecorum.—We have sought in vain for any treatise thus

¹ Alcuin, de Pontif. et SS. Eccl. Ebor. Gale's Scriptores, p. 730. The name is printed *Alcuinus*, but it is obviously improbable that the author of the poem would place his own name or writings in

this category of precious books which had been committed by Egbert to his charge, as he there states.

² Hist. de la Civilisation en France, tom. ii. p. 66, third edit.

entitled. In the Peterborough *Matricularium* we find a MS. called "Græcismus;" Gunton, App. p. 190; in one of the Durham Catalogues also, A.D. 1395, under *Libri Grammaticæ* is "Liber Græcismi;" and elsewhere "Liber de Præpositionibus Græcis." Catal. Vet. Ecc. Dun. pp. 49, 111. It has indeed been alleged that some partiality for the study of Greek was shown in Anglo-Saxon times, and that many Greek words and phrases were interpolated by Archbishop Theodore, a native of Tarsus, by his friend Abbot Adrian, an African well skilled both in Greek and Latin, and by their scholars. Bede, Aldhelm, Johannes Scotus, and other eminent writers, were no doubt versed in the Greek language, but it is remarkable that rarely if ever is any Greek MS. found in early lists of libraries; Mr. Hunter observes in the Preface to his treatise on English Monastic Libraries, that "a Greek or Hebrew MS. of the Scriptures is not found in Leland's Notes, or, I believe, in any of the Catalogues. In Wetstein's Catalogue of MSS. of the New Test. only one, cod. 59, is traced into the hands of an English community of religious." The library formed by Egbert at York in the eighth century, and of which he writes to Charlemagne, contained Greek and Hebrew MSS., as we learn from the metrical description of its contents by Alcuin; De Pontif. Eccl. Ebor. Very rarely, however, does any indication of knowledge of Greek Literature occur. Leland inferred, from finding at St. Benet at Holme a commentary by Grosteste on Dionysius de Hierarchia, that the bishop was a Greek scholar; we may notice also in the Peterborough library, "Quædam scripta translata a Græco in Latinum a R. Grostest," Gunton, App. p. 221. See Mr. Hallam's remarks on the ignorance and disuse of Greek in the West of Europe, Middle Ages, ch. ix. part 2; Introd. to the Literature of Europe, part i. ch. ii. sect. 7. Compare Milman's Lat. Christ., vol. i. pp. 27, 30. See also Mr. Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit., vol. i. p. 43.

20. Liber Bestiarum.—Amongst numerous treatises, abounding in conventual libraries, to which this title might apply, that by Bede may be cited "De naturis bestiarum;" Pits, p. 138. The *Matricularium* gives us a "Tractatus de naturis bestiarum et volucrum;" Gunton, App. p. 181. We are indebted to Canon Rock for a reference to the valuable information to be obtained in regard to this class of writings from Cardinal Pitra's *Spicilegium Solesmense*, lib. iii. p. xlvii. See also the curious "Bestiaire Divin," edited by M. Hippeau for the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy, with an Introduction concerning "Les Bestiaires, Volucraires et Lapidaires du moyen age." Caen, 1852.

THE GIFTS OF BISHOP ÆTHELWOLD TO THE MONASTERY OF MEDESHAMSTEDE.

(Register of Peterborough entitled *Niger Liber*, MS. Bibl. Soc. Ant.
No. 60, f. 34 b.)

þis synd þa madmas þe Adeluold bisceop sealde into þam mynstre þe is Medeshamstede ge haten, Gode to loue and sancte Petre, his saule to alysednesse; þæt is þonne, an Cristes boc mid sylure berenod, and .iii. rode eac mid sylure berenode, .ii. sylurene candelsticcan, and .ii. ouer gyldes, and .i. sylurene storcille, and .i. æren, and .i. sylurene water¹

¹ This and three other words are written with the Anglo-Saxon character equivalent to—w—, which is here used in place

of it. In other words, the scribe has used—uu—as here printed.

fot, and .ii. sylurene bellen, and .iiii. silurene calices, .iiii. patenan, and syluren pipe, and .vi. masse hacelan, and .iiii. cæppan, and .i. roc, and .viii. stolan, emfela handlina, and .xi. subumbrale, and .ii. pistol clapas, and .iii. corporale, and .iii. offrine sceatas, and .xviii. albæn, and .iiii. pælles, and .ii. linen web to albæn, and .ii. blace rægl cæsternisce, and .vi. uuahryft, and .viii. setreil, and .x. hangiede bellan, .vii. hand bellan, and .iiii. bedreaf, and .vi. hornas, .iiii. ge renode, and .viii. sylfrene cuppan, and .ii. ge gylde weofod sceatas.

And an twentig is para boca þe Adeluold biscop ge sealde into Burch; þæt is þonne, Beda in Marcum, Liber miraculorum, Expositio Hebreorum nominum, Provisio futurarum rerum, Augustinus de academiis, Vita sancti Felicis metrice, Sinonima Isidori, Vita Eustachii, Descidia parisiace polis, Medicinalis, De duodecim abusivis, Sermo super quosdam Psalmos, Commentum Cantica Canticorum, De eucharistia, Commentum Martiani, Alchimi² Aviti, Liber differentiarum, Cilicius Ciprianus, De litteris Grecorum, Liber Bestiarum.³

These are the precious things which Bishop Æthelwold gave to the monastery which is called Medeshamstede, to the praise of God and St. Peter, for the redemption of his soul; that is then, one Christ's Book ornamented with silver, and three roods also ornamented with silver, two silver candlesticks and two overgilt, and one silver censer, and one brazen and one silver water-fat, and two silver bells, and four silver chalices, and four patens, and a silver pipe, and six mass-garments,⁴ and four copes, and one tunicle [?] and eight stoles, as many maniples, and eleven *subumbrale*,⁵ and two epistle-cloths, and three corporals, and three offertory napkins, and nineteen albs, and four palls, and two linen apparels for albs, and two black embroidered garments, and six wall-hangings, and nine seat-coverings, and ten hanging-bells, and seven hand-bells, and four bed-hangings, and six horns, four of them ornamented, and eight silver cups, and two gilded altar-cloths.

And of the books which Bishop Æthelwold gave to Burch,⁶ there is a score, that is then, Beda in Marcum, &c.

² In the MS. there is a stop after "Alchimi," but this and the following word should doubtless be taken together.

³ This is followed by the enumeration of lands given to Medeshamstede by Æthelwold: it is printed in Dugd. Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 382, Calcy's edit.

⁴ Chasubles. In the list of ornaments, vestments, &c. in Elfric's Glossary, we find "*casula*, mæsse haele." Amongst Bishop Leofric's gifts to Exeter were "v. fulle mæssereaf."

⁵ Probably, as was before mentioned,

long garments of linen worn under the albs, *subucula*; in Elfric's A. Sax. Glossary we find "under-ayrc, subucula, colobium." See Ducange. "*Subucula* est sacerdotalis canisia corpori decenter astricta totum corpus operiens." Ortus Vocabulorum.

⁶ Subsequently to its restoration by Æthelwold the monastery of Medeshamstede was known, as before observed, by the name *Burch*, or *Burg*, *Burgus Sancti Petri*.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

June 5, 1863.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Noble Chairman expressed the satisfaction with which he surveyed the rich series of examples of art illustrated by SCULPTURE IN IVORY, which had been selected as the subject of the Special Exhibition on the present occasion. The members of the Institute, with many possessors of treasures of ancient art friendly to the purpose of the Central Committee in the formation periodically of such instructive exhibitions, had responded to their invitation with cordial liberality, and Lord Talbot could not too highly commend the skill and taste shown by Mr. Tucker, and also on many former occasions, in the classification and arrangement of the numerous treasures now entrusted for public gratification.

Mr. CHARLES TUCKER, F.S.A., offered some introductory remarks on the precious collection submitted to the Society, enumerating the chief exhibitors, and briefly describing their contributions. Many valuable examples of sculpture in ivory existed both in our own country and in continental collections, amongst which the series recently formed at the British Museum, through the laudable exertions of Mr. Franks, presented one of the most important exemplifications accessible to the student of art. Mr. Tucker believed, however, that the large collection submitted to the Institute might be regarded as unique; so many and such remarkable specimens of ancient and of Christian Art of their particular class had never before probably been brought together, commencing from the earliest classical period, and extending through the various phases of progress and decay of art to its final *décadence*. Mr. Tucker congratulated the Society on the very gratifying continuance of the friendly aid and ready encouragement received during many years, and more especially evinced in regard to the periodical special exhibitions which the Institute had carried out so successfully. The results of their present undertaking would be hailed as highly satisfactory. Amongst numerous names of exhibitors whose liberality they had often experienced, that of Mr. Mayer of Liverpool, whose invaluable collection known as the "Fejérvary Ivories" was now before them, must be held in honored remembrance, whilst in the choice series exhibited by Mr. Webb would be found some of the most instructive existing examples of various periods and schools of art.

We regret that it has been found impracticable to offer a complete description of the numerous specimens entrusted for this occasion. Amongst the principal exhibitors were Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Gambier Parry, Mr. Hawkins, F.S.A., Mr. Rohde Hawkins, Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., the

Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, F.S.A., Mr. Edmund Waterton, F.S.A., the Hon. Mrs. Stapylton, His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, the Earl Amherst, the Very Rev. Canon Rock, Dr. Charlton, M.D., Mr. Blackburn, Mr. Henderson, F.S.A., Mr. C. Bowyer, Mr. C. Warne, Mr. Bowyer Nichols, F.S.A., Mr. R. Goff, Mr. T. W. Brett, Mr. Henry Vaughan, Mr. H. G. Bohn, Lieut.-Col. Vernon, Mr. Akroyd, F.S.A., Mr. J. E. Rolls, Mr. E. A. Cooke, R.A., Mr. R. Pritchett, F.S.A., Mr. Charles Mainwaring, Mr. Attenborough, Mr. Dunn Gardner, Mr. A. W. Franks, Dir. S.A., Mr. Albert Way, Mr. Phillips, Mr. W. Burges, Mr. Osborn Smith, and other collectors.

Mr. DICBY WYATT delivered an address on Sculpture in Ivory, with especial reference to the collection thus liberally placed before the meeting, and which he considered to surpass in variety and interest any series hitherto brought together, comprising as it did specimens of almost every style and period of art, and of every country in which working in ivory had been practised. Mediæval times, however, as might be expected, furnish the greater number of sculptures in this material; but there were now displayed Consular diptychs produced by pagan workmen before art had become imbued with the spirit of Christianity; Consular diptychs also, with indications, such as the cross introduced amongst the ornaments, that the influence of the new religion was beginning to be established; and a multiplicity of devotional folding-tablets, crucifixes, paxes, with other appliances of sacred use at a later period, when art existed as the hand-maid of the religion to which it had become joined, and which for centuries was its chief patron and protector. Many fine examples also were to be found in the present collection, illustrative of the period of transition and of the renaissance, when Art became dissociated from its close intimacy with religion, and found both an aim and range as well as a new stimulus in the encouragement of the laity. With all these, and more for the sake of comparison than for any intrinsic merit, and to give greater completeness to the special illustration of the art, had been placed in juxtaposition certain select objects of Chinese, Indian, Burmese, and Japanese workmanship in ivory, the latter especially being exemplified by the spirited although grotesque little figures recently brought from Japan, and now exhibited by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Dunn Gardner. The endeavor to represent Art in all its phases, and in its progress or retrogression in any particular period or country, had on the present occasion been carried out with remarkable effect through the medium of the miniature productions of plastic dexterity, upon which the skill and fancy of the best artists of past ages have been unsparingly lavished. Mr. Wyatt then briefly adverted to the sources of the supply of ivory, namely India and Africa, the earliest known carved works in ivory being those from Assyria preserved in the British Museum, and a few examples now exhibited by Mr. Mayer and Mr. Webb. Mr. Murray had also kindly sent faithful representations of the Nineveh ivories, so that an opportunity was afforded to compare the sculptures of this nature brought to England by Mr. Layard with those now first exhibited. Besides fragments of Assyrian sculpture in low relief and two small lions from the palace at Nimroud, of admirable execution and spirited expression, Mr. Mayer had contributed a tiger's head of fine Greek work, another of bone, probably part of a chair of state, a cylinder with figures in low relief of great beauty, and a remarkable head of a Cupid. After some interesting remarks on the characteristics of Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek sculpture,

Mr. Wyatt alluded to the works in ivory, comparatively of rare occurrence, which belong to the classical period; the large importation of elephants for the purposes of warfare and of the public games must have given extension to the use of ivory. Amongst the most remarkable relics which have been preserved are *pugillares* or waxed tablets, and *diptycha*, also carvings in relief which may have been affixed to costly furniture, caskets, and various personal ornaments. The Consular diptychs are unquestionably the ivories of greatest value and importance, because to these a certain date may be assigned; and having been produced for the highest officers of state they may be considered the most favorable specimens of contemporary art.¹ Mr. Wyatt pointed out the diptychs contributed by the kindness of Mr. Mayer, some of the most beautiful doubtless preserved to our times; the magnificent fragment of a tablet representing the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, date about A.D. 167, the mythological diptych of Æsculapius and Hygeia, the imperial diptych of Philip the Arab, A.D. 248, and the Byzantine diptych of Flavius Clementinus, Consul A.D. 513. A leaf of an object of the same class exhibited by Mr. Webb, and representing a bacchante throwing incense on an altar, was also noticed as a work of singular beauty. From Mr. Webb's choice collection also, amongst many exquisite sculptures, was a small female head of deep chesnut-colored ivory, of Egyptian or Oriental character of design, which had been regarded as of Greco-Egyptian art, but may possibly be referred to the period of assimilation to the Egyptian style in the time of Hadrian. Some precious fragments found with Roman remains at Caerleon, the *Isca Silurum*, had been sent, by the kind mediation of Mr. J. E. Lee, from the museum at that place, and claim notice, not only on account of the extreme rarity of such relics of art on Roman sites in this country, but as works, although much decayed, of no ordinary artistic merits. It is supposed that they may have formed the sides of a *cista mystica* or sacrificial coffer.² Of Christian ivories from the time anterior to the iconoclasts down to the renaissance, an ample and precious assemblage was shown. Mr. Wyatt offered some observations on the most important of these varied and tasteful objects, pointing out their singular interest and value to the student of art and of the obscure details of religious iconography and symbolism.³

The thanks of the meeting were cordially tendered to Mr. Digby Wyatt by Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P. Lord Talbot proposed also a vote of special acknowledgment to Mr. Charles Tucker for his kind and valuable services in arranging the collection, which proved the source of unusual gratification to a large number of visitors. The exhibition continued open to the members and their friends from June 1 to June 13.

The Very Rev. CANON ROCK made some observations on the skill of the

¹ See the Catalogue of the Fejérvary Ivories in Mr. Mayer's museum, with an Essay on Antique Ivories by Mr. Pulszky, accompanied by a descriptive enumeration of Consular and other Diptychs. Liverpool, 1856.

² See Mr. Lee's Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum at Caerleon, p. 59, pl. xxix., where they are figured. These remarkable sculptures were noticed also in this Journal, vol. vii. p. 98.

³ We may refer our readers for more complete information to Mr. Digby Wyatt's excellent lecture on the History, Methods and Productions of the Art of Sculpture in Ivory, delivered at the meeting of the Arundel Society in 1855, and printed with Mr. Oldfield's Catalogue of specimens of Ivory carvings, of which admirable casts are sold by that society.

Anglo-Saxon artificers, exercised not only upon chasings in metal and other productions of the once celebrated *opus Anglicanum*, but shown also in sculpture in "Elpen ban" or ivory, for which, however, it is probable that walrus-tooth or sea-horse ivory was frequently substituted. Alluding to the desecration of ancient objects by ignorant persons, he stated that the precious ivory throne at Ravenna had, as reported, been lately cleaned by order of some members of the Chapter, and its aspect is now as fresh and white as a work of yesterday. He invited attention to the art of sculpture in ivory in Spain and in Spanish America, where it has reached a high degree of advancement.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., took occasion to advert to the great variety of purposes, not only sacred, but of ordinary daily life, to which ornamental objects of ivory had been applied. He pointed out some elaborately sculptured snuff-boxes and *rappoirs* in the present collection, some of them being exhibited by himself. It has been stated that snuff-taking came into vogue in England in consequence of the capture by Sir George Rooke of the Spanish galleons in Vigo Bay, in 1702, when a vessel laden with powdered tobacco from the Spanish American possessions was captured. Many costly snuff-boxes are doubtless of that date, but some of the objects exhibited seem to prove that on the continent, if not in our own country, the fashion prevailed somewhat earlier. A *rappoir* figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 416, is ornamented with a carving in ivory of a gallant in the costume as there described of the reign of James I. or Charles I. In the *Dictionnaire de Trevoux*, however, such a snuff-mill, termed *Griboise*, is said to have been contrived at Strasbourg about 1690.⁴ These graters seem to show that at first snuff-takers carried a roll or *carotte* of tobacco about them, and a small rasp for making a fresh supply when wanted, thence doubtless called *rappee*; in early days probably only a small quantity for immediate use was thus prepared; the grater terminated at one end in a small spoon for the snuff, and at the other in a little box for a reserve of the pulverised herb, which passed into it by a small aperture closed by a little sliding hatch. The next step, Mr. Morgan observed, seemed to have been the separation of the grater and the box, the latter only being carried about the person, and snuff supplied by aid of the *rappoir*, which was left at home. Very possibly in the early time of snuff-taking the notion may have prevailed that fresh-grated tobacco, like fresh-ground coffee, had an aroma which was deteriorated by keeping. The elaborate ornamentation of these ivory rasps shows that it was not considered derogatory for nobles or persons of condition to prepare their own *rappee*. Gil Blas, it may be remembered, found Don Mathias da Silva occupied in this manner. The snuff-rasps seem mostly to be of French workmanship.

July 3, 1863.

The Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Lord Talbot called the attention of the members to the recent accession of Transactions of certain kindred continental Societies presented to the library of the Institute, consisting of the publications of the Historical and

⁴ There are several beautiful specimens of the *rape à tabac* or *griboise* in the Sauvageot collection in the Louvre.

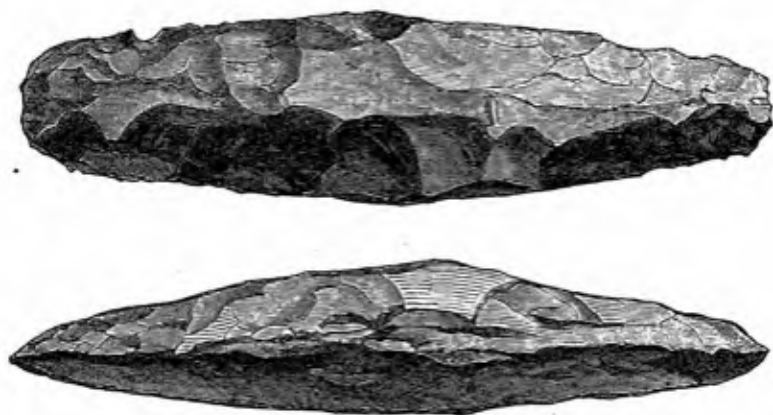
See the Catalogue by M. Sauzey, Nos. 178-182.

Archæological Society of Savoy, the later publications of the Antiquaries of Zürich, of the Archæological Society of the Duchy of Luxemburg, &c. The recently published Manual of Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain, by Mr. Chaffers, the most comprehensive and useful work of reference hitherto compiled in regard to the fictile arts of all countries and periods, was also brought before the Society.

Professor WESTWOOD delivered a discourse describing the numerous treasures of Middle-age Art which he had examined in a recent visit to the public libraries at Leyden, Xanten, Treves, Munich, Milan, and St. Gall. He exhibited a series of facsimiles of illuminations, casts of sculptures in ivory, and drawings of early examples of design, especially from Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS. They will be described hereafter in the continuation of the Professor's Notes of an Archæological Tour on the Continent given in this Journal.

A notice by Mr. WESTON S. WALFORD was then read on an inscribed coffin-lid found on the North side of the Temple Church, London. Printed in this volume, p. 138, *ante*.

Sir J. CLARKE-JERVOISE, Bart., M.P., described some singular vestiges of early occupation which he had investigated in the neighbourhood of his residence, Idsworth Park, Hants. He brought a plan of a remarkable fortified site surrounded by concentric circular entrenchments, evidently of very remote antiquity, situated in the ancient forest of Bere near Horndean. In that locality he had noticed considerable deposits of flints, which have evidently been exposed to the action of fire; from its peculiar white appearance, caused by calcination, the silex which thus occurs in abundance is commonly called "milk-stone." It is mostly found on the clay, occasionally in beds, as if a cartload of the burnt stones had been thrown out in



Implement of yellow flint found in the forest of Bere, Hants. Length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

the forest and elsewhere. It is remarkable that the spots where the flints occur are not marked by any particular elevation or depression of the surface. Sir Jervoise brought several specimens for examination; also

a barbed arrow-head of white flint found near Horndean, and a flint celt of somewhat unusual fashion, possibly an unfinished specimen, which had been found in the neighbourhood. (See woodcut.) The notion that the milk-stone may indicate the sites of old kilns for burning lime appears, on careful observation, very improbable, and Sir Jervoise desired to invite the attention of antiquaries to these singular deposits, the nature of which he had hitherto in vain endeavored to ascertain. We hope that he will give hereafter a more detailed account of the remarkable relics of antiquity which occur in and near the forest of Bere.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN observed that the peculiar crackly appearance of the milk-stone seemed to indicate that the flints had been exposed to a great heat and quenched in cold water, probably when red hot. The South Sea Islanders, in their primitive condition, were accustomed to seeth their food in gourds or other appliances which could not be exposed to fire, by throwing heated stones into the water. Possibly the calcined flints found in Hampshire, in a locality which had evidently been extensively occupied at an early period, may have been reduced to the condition in which they now occur through some such cause. In any case, the subject to which Sir Jervoise had been the first to call attention may appear well deserving of careful consideration. The only analogous fact hitherto noticed, so far as we are aware, is the occurrence of very large quantities of calcined and crackly flints at Blackbury, an oval entrenched work in Devonshire, between Honiton and the coast, described by Mr. Hutchinson in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1862, p. 56. It has been conjectured that in that instance the large deposit of burned flints may mark the sites of beacon fires, an explanation, however, which Mr. Hutchinson was unwilling to accept.

Mr. WALTER H. TREGELLAS gave the following notes on some fragments of ancient pottery and copper which he brought for examination; they were found in "The George Gravel Pits," on Kingston Hill, Surrey, during recent diggings, as shown by a sketch of the site which he placed before the meeting. "The only apology I have to offer for calling the attention of the Institute to the discovery of these fragments is a desire to induce some of the members to take an opportunity of watching the excavations in progress. I am induced to believe, from numerous remains already found in the neighbourhood, that closer attention than has been hitherto given to this site may lead to interesting discoveries. The larger piece of pottery exhibited was found by me, *in situ*, on 10th May last, in what is known to the laborers in the gravel pits as a "pot-hole."³ The ground had evidently been disturbed where it lay, and bore marks of having been subjected to the action of fire, an appearance which the pottery itself also presents. The pot-hole measured about 7 ft. wide by 3 ft. deep. Numerous other remains have been found, consisting of fragments of pottery and tiles, and some burnt wheat; human teeth and bones; a boar's tusk; a small earthen vessel, probably a drinking-cup, which I have not seen; cakes of copper, of one of which a fragment is exhibited; examples found in 1858 and 1861 were presented to the British Museum by the Duke of Cambridge, the owner of the Combe Estate, but these were in very small pieces; a small oblong

³ Like the small and very curious urn figured *Arch. Journ.* p. 364, vol. xix., recently found in a ballast pit at March,

Isle of Ely, this fragment was brought to light "not in the gravel but in the soil over-lying it."

plate of lead; charcoal, the durability of which is well known; a small stone disc with a convex surface; and a larger block of sandstone also with a convex surface. The manufacture of the pottery is very rough, and it has not been formed on a lathe. It is without ornament; another and smaller fragment, however, found apart from the larger one bears traces apparently of ornament, though this may have had some purpose which I have been unable to discover. The ornamentation consists of small holes which passed nearly through the vessel. One of the Dorsetshire urns, found by the late Mr. Sydenham and Mr. Warne, has a series of somewhat similar holes running round it in five or six lines. The fragment, which I removed from the spot where it had rested for so many centuries, is different in fashion from that of any which, in my limited experience, I have met with. The nearest approach to it that I have seen is an urn figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 330, pl. 17, fig. 1, but only $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high and 4 in. in diameter at the mouth; it was found in a barrow three miles west of Dorchester, near the skeleton of an infant; the side of that urn has a double curve instead of one continuous curve as this had. Imperfect as the fragment is, enough remains to show that it was probably a wide-mouthed vessel; from its inverted though somewhat oblique position, and from the cinereous character of the ground around it, it will probably be allowed that this urn was sepulchral. The edge of the smaller fragment shows, more clearly than that of the larger one, what must have been the shape of the mouth. The ground has been under cultivation for so long a time that there are no signs of barrows or other elevations of the surface, but the numerous fragments which have been found, without any systematic search, and moreover disinterred so far apart from each other as some have been, seem to indicate that there was at one period an extensive British settlement near this site, which it would be interesting to investigate fully. The gravel-pits are on the top of Kingston Hill, and within a pleasant walk of two miles through Combe Wood from the entrenchment on Wimbledon Common; there are, probably, few objects of greater antiquarian interest so easy of access from London."

Mr. F. FRANCIS communicated some account of recent discoveries at Snape near Aldborough in Suffolk, on the property of S. Davidson, Esq., in the tract of land adjoining the remarkable tumuli before noticed in this *Journal*.⁶ Mr. Francis had received from a friend on the spot, who had been an eye-witness of the explorations lately made, the following interesting particulars accompanied by sketches of several cinerary urns, some of them ornamented with zigzag patterns, also with impressed markings of circular and other forms; these urns resemble for the most part those disinterred in Saxon cemeteries by the late Lord Braybrooke, and figured in his *Saxon Obsequies*.

Stimulated by the success of the explorations during the previous summer, Mr. Davidson had directed the field in its whole length east and west, next the side of the road from Snape to Aldborough, by a breadth of more than twelve yards north and south, to be double trenched. By this arrangement the whole circumference of the base of the largest tumulus was included. Complete success has attended these labors, and Mr. Davidson may well feel satisfaction in having thrown fresh light on the obscure sepulchral vestiges in this district. More than forty vases, mostly in

⁶ See p. 188, *ante*.

fragments, have been exhumed ; but the most remarkable circumstance is the fact that by far the greater number have been found in the level between the two largest tumuli, and much outside the extreme base of either of them, these barrows being separated by a wide interval, whilst the conjecture is improbable that the ground might have been at one time elevated in small mounds covering these deposits, as the surface in every case was rather depressed than otherwise and singularly bare of furze, so common elsewhere over the surface of the field. No urn was discovered at a greater distance north and south than about ten yards ; the majority were within a short distance of the hedge to the southward ; they were invariably found about a foot below the surface and in most instances were brought to light on the removal of the first sod. The mould presented the appearance noticed elsewhere, being black and greasy-looking. Many of the vases were completely collapsed. From examination of some of the bones, the process of cremation must have been imperfect ; and it has been suggested that possibly the evolution of gases from the decomposing remains may have fractured these urns from within, and that they afterwards collapsed from pressure of the superincumbent soil. Some of the bones must have been very large ; attention was particularly arrested by the dimensions of fragments of a *trochlear* and of a *humerus*, which certainly exceeded the average size of those of the present race. No arrangement could be traced in the deposit of the vases ; they came to light often unexpectedly, in some cases at considerable intervals and elsewhere in close juxtaposition. They varied much in shape and pattern, as was shown by the sketches sent for examination, and also in the quality and thickness of the ware. Without exception, all contained incinerated bones. The only relics or ornaments found were two small pieces of ivory (as supposed), mounted with a serrated margin of metal, and showing remains of a rivet in the centre ; a portion of a convex plate of copper, having the appearance of part of a helmet ; an oblong copper ring, evidently the remains of a buckle ; an iron spear-head, ten inches in length, joined in the centre by a rivet ; and a human tooth. On minute examination of the broken urns and their contents a few other teeth were noticed ; also a small round bead of bone ; a piece of charcoal apparently shaped and grooved for some purpose not ascertained ; and some fragments of fused glass. These relics were found only in the smaller vases, and nothing but bone in those of larger size. The peaty or turfy covering of the soil was nearly seven inches in thickness and closely matted together ; this has been burned, and it is hoped that as it decays other relics may come to light ; this sod lay directly above the vases, so that some small objects or ornaments may very probably remain concealed in it.

There can be little doubt that a considerable settlement was located in Anglo-Saxon times near Snape, the " Snapps " of the Domesday Survey, and that these early occupants of the banks of the Alde had their cemetery in the neighbourhood of the ancient grave-hills explored by Mr. Davidson. There occur other tumuli near some of the villages in the neighbourhood, which probably indicate other sites of occupation in remote times, and are deserving of careful exploration.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. C. D. E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.—A choice collection of antique lamps, consisting of thirty-seven specimens of terra-cotta and four of bronze. Amongst the former the following claim particular notice.—A lamp with eight burners, the handle ornamented with a bust of Jupiter.—Lamp with a crescent-shaped handle; it is ornamented with a shell in relief.—Long triangular-shaped lamp with a horse's head in bold relief; on the under side is the potter's mark, a pair of feet, each stamped—PVF.—Lamp in form of the head of a bull or a buffalo harnessed; a similar specimen is figured by Bartoli in the *Antiche lucerne*, part 1, pl. 17; Licetus, p. 200, fig. 4; and in Passeri, *Lucernæ fictiles*, vol. 1, pl. 98.—A satyr seated astride on the body of the lamp and vigorously blowing the flame; the burner, which was probably phallic, broken off: from Rome.—A lamp found at Cologne; the device is a hare eating a bunch of grapes.—Two specimens with the potter's mark—SAECVL—on one, with half figures of Apollo and Diana, the name is traced merely with the point; on the other, bearing whole length figures of Æsculapius and Hygeia, the letters are on a small tablet in relief.—Lamp of fine workmanship, with a draped figure of Victory holding a disc inscribed—ANNV NOVVS FAVTVS (*sic*); around the figure are loaves of bread and other symbols of plenty; this may have been a birthday present or a new-year's gift, or, if sepulchral, expressive of good wishes for the future state; a similar lamp is figured, Passeri, *Lucernæ fictiles*, vol. 1, pl. 6; Bartoli, part iii. pl. 5.—A specimen with dark green glaze in excellent preservation, the device being two gladiators with helmets, shields and other equipments. Glazed lamps are rare.—Two other glazed lamps, the glaze decomposed and iridescent; one has the potter's stamp of a human foot.—Two lamps with draped busts, probably Castor and Pollux, a star being upon each of the heads; stamp, in relief, AVFFRON.—Lamp with a female bust surrounded by an elegant wreath of laurel.—Two lamps with wreaths of laurel or olive; on one is the mark H. Compare Passeri, vol. iii. pl. 43.—Tragic mask, same mark as the last.—Lamp with the device of a crow perched on a cornucopia, behind which is the caduceus. Mark, a pair of feet.—Another with the same mark; the device being Cupid holding a garland of flowers in his left, a sword in his right hand.—Several specimens of the type without a handle; on one of them is a draped figure of Cupid: on another, two nude female figures, one of them pouring water from an urn into a *labrum*; on other specimens appears the dolphin, also an eagle, a lamb feeding on a branch, &c.—An early Christian lamp, with a bust of Our Lord, full face; lozenge-shaped ornament on the border.—A singular specimen (of Phœnician or Assyrian character?); device a male figure holding a branch or a musical instrument.—Lamp in form of a fruit, with the mark R.—Two small lamps fused together in the kiln; device the head of Phœbus.—One of the bronze specimens has two burners, the handle is flower-shaped, and with rings for suspension; probably early Christian; obtained at Naples.—Also another from Naples, with heart-shaped handle; and a specimen from Rome with a burner at each end, and adapted for suspension.

By Mr. HENDERSON, F.S.A.—Thirteen Greek and Roman lamps of terra-cotta, one of them with two burners, another supported on a sphinx. Also two bronze lamps, of which one is curiously fashioned in the form of a goose.

By Sir SIBBALD D. SCOTT, Bart., F.S.A.—Two antique lamps of terra-cotta obtained in Italy.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Three lamps of terra-cotta obtained in Italy; the devices in relief are a hare, bird, tragic mask, &c.; and two with Christian symbols, found in the catacombs at Syracuse. Also several terra-cotta fragments of beautiful design, from Pæstum and Rome.—A skull of white marble, of natural size, lately found amongst the ruins of the Baths of Tiberius in the Isle of Capri. It is well sculptured, and has been considered to be a relic of antique art.—A Flemish moulded brick found at Walsoken, Norfolk. The subject consists of six figures, and represents prisoners led away by their captors, walking towards the left.

Six bricks of similar manufacture, found in the construction of the St. Katherine's Docks, are described by Mr. Kempe, *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 356. Another, found at Wisbeach, is figured as a Roman brick in the *Antiquarian Itinerary*. See also Mr. Cruden's Description of three ornamented Bricks found at London and Gravesend. All these are of the earlier part of the sixteenth century; dimensions about six inches by four inches. The designs are mostly sharp in execution, and the bricks very hard and well burned.—A string of small charms of red cornelian, purchased at Malta from a Moor who brought them from Tunis, as 'good for the blood.'

By the Buckinghamshire Archæological Society, through the Rev. CHARLES LOWNDES.—A pair of bronze compasses found with numerous Roman relics on the site of a Roman building, of which the foundations were excavated, on the property of Mr. R. P. Greaves at Tingewick, Bucks, about two miles west of Buckingham, and near the ancient Roman way from Bicester (*Bina Castra*) towards Towcester. An account of the discoveries made there in 1860–62 has been given in the *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. iii., p. 33, by the Rev. H. Roundell, Honorary Secretary of the Bucks Archæological Society. The compasses, which measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, are of somewhat unusual construction, as shown in the accompanying woodcut. A pair of bronze compasses found at Cirencester has been figured in the *Illustrations of Roman Remains at Corinium* by Professor Buckman, p. 103, and in this *Journal*, vol. vii., p. 412; these, however, are constructed like modern compasses. Roman implements of this description are of considerable



Bronze Compasses found at
Tingewick, Bucks.
Length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.

rarity. A pair almost precisely similar has been found with Roman remains at Yverdon in Switzerland, and are figured in a memoir by M. Louis Rochat in the *Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zürich*.⁷ The Comte Caylus has

⁷ *Mittheilungen*, t. xiv.

given some examples in his *Récueil d'Antiquités*, tom. v., pp. 236; 238, and pl. 85; tom. vi., pl. 99. Representations of compasses and other implements are seen upon a Greek tomb figured in the same work, tom. vi., p. 201, pl. 62.—An iron stirrup, supposed to be of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, found on Longdown Common, Bucks, and presented to the Buckinghamshire Society by Mr. Wilson of Amersham.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A specimen of chain-mail of steel curiously welded and riveted, stated to have been found in the Thames but probably of oriental work.—A pair of small shears or ladies' scissors of unusual construction, cutting edges of steel having been inserted in the margins of a well-contrived and pliable implement of brass, showing considerable elegance of fashion as well as ingenious workmanship. These scissors are supposed to be of the fourteenth century; they were found in the ground about ten years since, on the north side of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, at no great depth and not, it is believed, accompanying an interment. Shears of brass edged with steel were in the Japanese collection at the International Exhibition, and Mr. Stevens notices some other examples in the Catalogue of the Salisbury Museum, p. 47. Copper axes edged with iron have been found in Denmark, and also daggers with the like peculiarity of construction.

By Mr. EDMUND WATERTON, F.S.A.—Twenty-one rings, recent additions to his precious *Dactyllothea*; amongst them were five Roman rings of glass, of great rarity; three Roman rings of amber; a gold episcopal ring of the thirteenth century set with a sapphire; a massive ring, the hoop chased with the arms of Aragon—RE ALFONSO, probably Alfonso V., the Wise, 1416—1458; gold ring found at Glastonbury, engraved with the posy *Deux corps ung ever* and the initials—C M—united by a true-love knot; gold ring inscribed *por tous jours*; gold Italian ring enameled and set with a topaz, on the hoop is the device of the Farnese family; Italian ring enriched with niello—AVE MARIA; silver ring encased in a substance resembling horn, probably the hoof of the wild ass supposed to be of medicinal virtue; silver ring of the fourteenth century set with a toad-stone, &c.—Two pendant jewels of German workmanship, sixteenth century.—Fragments of bone sculptured, found near Rome, probably the remains of a *cista* similar to one preserved at Munich.—Silver Russian spoon enriched with niello of Tula work, date sixteenth century.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—Miniature on ivory representing Charles Louis, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and the Electress his wife, accompanied by their attendants, walking on a terrace at Heidelberg, a view of the castle appearing in the background. He was born in 1617, and was son of Frederick V. and Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England, who, for accepting the crown of Bohemia in 1619, were put under the Ban of the Empire and deprived of their territories in 1623. Frederick died in exile, 1632, and, after the close of the Thirty Years' War, Charles Louis was restored to his ancestral dignities in 1650, in which year he married Charlotte, daughter of William V., Landgraf of Hesse Cassel, but they separated, and he died in 1680. This curious miniature was doubtless painted soon after 1650. The view of Heidelberg Castle is minutely accurate, and every portion of the buildings may be identified with the ground-plan and existing remains. It gives a very faithful representation of that picturesque palace, with its gardens, terraces, &c. On the right, adjoining to the large round tower, is seen the structure erected by

Frederick for his bride, and called, to the present day, "the English Building." The castle was destroyed in 1764 by fire, the octagonal tower seen in this representation having been struck by lightning.

By Mr. E. RICHARDSON.—A miniature model of the effigy of the Black Prince at Canterbury, in an erect attitude.

By Mr. ASHURST MAJENDIE.—A small portrait of Charles I., three quarters to the right.

By Sir SIBBALD D. SCOTT, Bart., F.S.A.—Tortoise-shell oval tobacco-box mounted in silver; on the lid is a profile head of Charles I. in silver, three-quarters to the left, in low relief, copied apparently from a fine medal by Warin. Within is a silver plate bearing a coat of arms of some loyalist possessor of the box, the charge on the escutcheon is a wolf salient.

By Mr. H. VAUGHAN.—A *tazza* of oriental onyx mounted in silver gilt, on a pedestal of ivory sculptured with figures.

By Mr. H. G. BOHN.—An ivory casket sculptured with sacred subjects; and an elaborately carved devotional standing tablet of ebony, the chief subject being a figure of the Virgin Mary, the breast opens and within is seen a representation of the Trinity; at the sides are symbols of the Virgin and figures of saints. Date sixteenth century.

By the EARL OF MANSFIELD.—An ovoid vase mounted in ormolu, a choice specimen of *Lac* or *Vernis de Martin*. A carriage painter named Martin, early in the reign of Louis XIV., produced imitations of the lac of China and Japan which are highly esteemed, and he invented a varnish or lacquer which he applied to copper as well as wood, and decorated snuff-boxes, fans, &c., with his pretty paintings.—Three enameled watch-cases decorated with fancy subjects and miniature portraits; these have been submitted to Mr. Scharf, who has identified the miniatures upon one case (from which the works have been removed) as portraying Frederic V., King of Denmark, born 1723, died 1766, and his second wife (married 1752), Juliana Mary, daughter of Frederick Albert, second Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbützel. Their arms are respectively enameled inside the case. The first wife of Frederick V. was Louisa, daughter of George II., King of England. Another watch-case, as Mr. Scharf suggested, may probably present a portrait of the famous Struensee, prime minister of Denmark, executed in 1772 for a presumed intrigue with the queen of Christian VII.; he supposes that the portrait of a lady on the inner side may represent the unfortunate young queen Caroline Matilda, sister of George III., King of England; she died in 1775. The other pair of portraits are of two distant periods and therefore more puzzling, one being of a young cavalier of the time of Charles I., the other portraying a personage in more advanced life, and contemporary with our George II.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Portions of highly ornamented Italian or Spanish plate-armour, chased, gilded, engraved and fluted; some parts are embossed with heads of lions and gorgons, &c. They have suffered from the action of fire. One portion, an elbow-piece, has formed part of a very rich suit; it is embossed with a seated figure of Fame and with garlands of fruit and foliage, the ground being damascened in arabesque work with gold and silver.

By the Rev. C. R. MANNING.—A leaden matrix found at Lynn, Norfolk. It is of circular form and measures in diameter somewhat more than 1½ in. At the upper edge there is a loop for suspension. The device is a lion. Legend + SIGILL M GODEFRIDI FILII PETRI. Date thirteenth century.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1863,

Held at Rochester, July 28 to August 4.

THE Annual Meeting was held under the patronage of His Grace the Lord Primate, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Bishop of Rochester, the Earl Stanhope, President of the Society of Antiquaries, and other influential Kentish noblemen. The proceedings commenced in the Guildhall at two o'clock. Shortly before that hour Lord Talbot de Malahide, accompanied by some leading members of the Institute and influential promoters of the Meeting, received, in the Council Chamber, the Marquess Camden, K. G., President elect, with the Earl of Darnley, the Earl Amherst, the Recorder of Rochester, and other members of the Kent Archæological Society, attending as a deputation to offer welcome on behalf of that body. On proceeding into the Guildhall, where the Mayor with the members of the Corporation, the Town Clerk and civic officers, and also a numerous assembly of members of the Institute, had already congregated, Lord Talbot expressed to the Meeting the regret of the President of the previous year, Lord Lyttelton, that public business in Worcestershire prevented his taking part in the Meeting at Rochester. In his absence Lord Talbot then invited the noble Marquess, under whose auspices the Kentish archæologists had successfully prosecuted a purpose kindred to that for which the Institute had been organised, to take the chair.

THE MARQUESS CAMDEN then took his place as President of the Meeting ; he observed that he lamented the unavoidable absence of his excellent relative, Lord Lyttelton, who had very efficiently discharged at the last Meeting of the Society the duties of a position which had now devolved upon himself. When requested to preside on the present occasion his first desire had been to have given his hearty co-operation and encouragement to the Meeting under the Presidency either of Lord Talbot, or of some other influential member of the Institute conversant with their proceedings in previous years. He was, however, anxious and most willing to render every aid in his power in furtherance of the objects of the Society in their visit to his County, and as President of the Kent Archæologists to hail that visit with fraternal welcome, feeling assured as he (Lord Camden) did, that the two Societies had in view one common aim and purpose, the conservation of national monuments, the endeavor also to elucidate obscure points of history and the manners or arts of bygone generations. Lord Camden adverted to the previous visit of the Society to Kent ; on that occasion the metropolitan city had been selected as the place of meeting, but the County possessed two cathedral cities as well as numerous sites of archæological

interest which had not then been investigated ; he was gratified that the Institute had determined to explore the second of the Kentish cathedrals, and that its history would now be elucidated by an antiquary so eminent in his special department of archæology as Professor Willis.

The Town Clerk, at the Mayor's request, then read the following address :—

" To the most Noble the Marquess Camden, K. G. (President of the Meeting), and to the members of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

" My Lord Marquess, Ladies, and Gentlemen—

" We the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of the ancient City of Rochester, in Council assembled, beg to be permitted to offer you our cordial welcome on this your first visit to our ancient city.

" We received with feelings of the greatest pleasure the intimation of the wish of the Institute to make our city this year the place of its annual meeting, and we have been most desirous to afford you every proof of our welcome.

" Not only does the city of Rochester possess within it especial objects of archæological attraction, among which the Cathedral and ancient Castle may be particularly mentioned, but there are also in its immediate vicinity many subjects, situated amidst the beautiful scenery for which the county of Kent is justly famed, well worthy of your attention.

" We highly appreciate the value of the investigations of the Institute, and congratulate ourselves if we have been in the least degree instrumental in bringing you amongst us ; and we trust that while to our citizens and the inhabitants of the county generally, your researches into subjects of so great interest to them cannot but be productive of much pleasure and advantage, the result will afford a material and useful addition to the interesting and valuable fund of information which the labors of the Institute have been the means of bringing to light.

" We again tender you our hearty welcome, and hope that your visit may be a pleasant and agreeable one to the members attending your congress."

The Noble President expressed, on behalf of the Institute, hearty appreciation of this friendly welcome from the Mayor and Corporate authorities, and of their kindness in affording every facility in the use of the Guildhall and other public buildings, which had proved of essential advantage in the arrangements for the meeting.

The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER then addressed the meeting. Although appearing in that assembly as a novice in archæological pursuits, he should have felt very unwilling that such a gathering as that in which he had now the pleasure of participating should take place without the expression of that warm sympathy, which, in common with the clergy of his diocese, he felt towards the purposes and exertions of the Institute. It was with sincere gratification that he offered the assurance of welcome on the present occasion, and he hoped to participate in the proceedings so far as pressing engagements would permit.

The EARL OF DARNLEY, on behalf of the Kent Archæological Society, expressed the pleasure with which that Society regarded this visit : they had the greatest satisfaction in welcoming the Institute to Kent. In coming to that county the Institute had entered upon a most interesting field of archæological and historical inquiry. Rochester must rank second only to Canterbury in archæological riches, possessing, if not one of the

most magnificent, one of the most interesting cathedrals in regard to its architectural history, its peculiarities and many instructive details; Rochester presents also a noble castle. The Institute had as President, that day, the President of their own local society. He congratulated the Noble President on the progress of the county society; though only five years old, thanks to the exertions of some of its members—especially of Mr. Larking whose absence through serious indisposition they must all regret—it already possessed nearly a thousand members and has published four volumes of highly interesting transactions. In the name of the Archæologists of Kent, Lord Darnley desired to tender to the Institute a hearty welcome, and expressed his earnest hope that the members would carry away agreeable recollections of their visit to Rochester and of their explorations of the varied and remarkable vestiges of every period which its neighbourhood presented to their examination.

Lord TALBOT, as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institute, desired to return thanks to the Noble Earl and to the Kentish Archæological Society. He remarked that the Institute had always warmly appreciated the encouragement of kindred local societies; there were none, probably, whom they regarded with more hearty sympathy and esteem than the Archæologists of Kent. He congratulated that body, so favorably established under the auspices of a President whom the Institute had now the honor and gratification to hail as their own, that so rich a field of research was presented to the Kentish antiquary; the local Society had shown a degree of energy and intelligence which might well stir up others to emulation. Lord Talbot, in conclusion, alluded to the singular beauty of Saxon ornaments found in Kent and to the valuable labors of Mr. Roach Smith, whose works had done much in throwing light upon the relics of that period, more especially upon that unrivalled archæological treasure, the Faussett Collection, which, through the generosity of its present possessor, had been once more brought back to Kent and would be displayed in the Temporary Museum.

The PROVOST of ORIEL COLLEGE, as Canon in residence, expressed, in the absence of the Dean who was precluded by the infirmities of age from taking part in the meeting, the sincere welcome of the Chapter and their desire to promote in any manner the gratification of their learned visitors, especially in the full investigation of that very remarkable architectural example, upon which, twenty years previously, he (Dr. Hawkins) had the pleasure of hearing a discourse from Professor Willis. He anticipated with gratification the results of the Professor's matured conclusions upon a structure full of interest,—a cathedral occupying the hallowed site of the second church erected in this country in Anglo-Saxon times. The fact might well claim consideration that amongst the possessions of the Church of Rochester is still found the "Priest Field," given by Ethelbert in the days of St. Augustine and of the earliest Christian establishment on the banks of the Medway.

The Hon. Lord NEAVES addressed the meeting in acknowledgment of the welcome thus kindly conveyed by the Provost of Oriel on behalf of the Dean and Chapter and of the clergy.

Lord TALBOT proposed cordial thanks to the Noble Marquess to whom, in common with his friends the members of the Institute assembled around him, Lord Talbot had the gratification of pledging loyal and willing allegiance as their future President. This acknowledgment was seconded by Mr. BERESFORD HOPE, who took occasion to advert to the true bearing and

purpose of such archæological gatherings, which should be something more than the mere pleasurable interchange of social amenities, and ought to produce those substantial results of valuable accessions to knowledge which had marked the progress of Archæology in Kent under Lord Camden's auspices. He viewed with satisfaction the four goodly volumes of local history and antiquarian investigations, the permanent fruits of the pleasant summer progresses of the Kent Society under the genial influence of their Noble President.

The vote of thanks was carried with much applause; the MARQUESS CAMDEN, after expressing his acknowledgments, renewed the assurance of his anxiety to promote the gratification of the Institute in carrying out the agreeable duty which had devolved upon him.

The Rev. EDWARD HILL was about to make his customary announcements in regard to the excursions and general arrangements of the week, when Mr. CHARLES ROACH SMITH, whose exertions in the cause of Archæological Science long since justly won a European reputation, addressed the meeting. He observed that he could not refrain from expressing the satisfaction with which he witnessed the present assembly, connected as he had been with the movement in which the Institute had its origin. It was with singular pleasure that he reviewed the good results which had accrued since their first archæological assembly at Canterbury in 1844. In that ancient metropolis of Kent the foundations were laid upon which the great Institution had been based which had extended its beneficial influence through the length and breadth of the land. He (Mr. Roach Smith) was proud to see the gathering of the Institute that day in the locality full of antiquarian interest in which he had fixed his abode, and to have the gratification of tendering hearty welcome to a society which had done more, as he believed, to infuse intelligent taste for the study and preservation of National Antiquities, than any body which had participated in that widespread archæological movement in which he had from the outset taken so lively an interest. The Institute had received from many quarters,—from the nobility of Kent, from the Corporation of Rochester, and from the Chapter and clergy,—cordial promises of assistance and welcome, and to these agreeable pledges of local encouragement Mr. Roach Smith desired to add some gratifying tokens which he also had received of friendly sympathy in the purposes of the present meeting. He then announced the courteous invitations which he had been requested to convey to the Institute on the part of Mr. Walter of Rainham, Mr. Bland, and other gentlemen, to visit various places of archæological attraction, the remarkable vestiges of Roman industry in the Upchurch Marshes, Hartlip, Tenterden, the Celtic remains at Addington and Coldrum, and other objects of considerable interest which, it was hoped, might be brought within the range of the numerous occupations of the week.

The meeting then dispersed. A large party assembled in the High Street to inspect, under the obliging guidance of Mr. S. Steele, the remains of the city walls, the ancient houses, the crypts under the Crown Inn and elsewhere, the Bridge Chapel, Boley Hill and the site of the residence of the benevolent Richard Watts in which he received Queen Elizabeth; the "Restoration House," where Charles II. was entertained on his journey to London in 1660; the sites of the city gates, and other points of local interest. The circuit of inspection terminated at the remarkable accumulation of piles from the old Rochester Bridge, now heaped up in a field near

the Medway in the occupation of Messrs. Foord, by whom the difficult operation of removing the bridge was undertaken. The mass of timber, chiefly of elm, presented a most striking appearance; the iron-shod piles, many of which were during 500 years in the bed of the river, are found to be in sound condition and were drawn out with no slight difficulty. In constructing the new bridge considerable traces of a submerged forest were also noticed. At the close of the tour of exploration thanks were tendered to Mr. Steele, by the Bishop of Rochester and the Rev. E. Hill, for his kind services and the curious local information which he had imparted.

The Temporary Museum was formed, by permission of the Mayor and Corporation, in the Corn Exchange. The collection there arranged by Mr. Charles Tucker was singularly rich in Kentish antiquities and objects associated with the History or Archæology of the county. Amongst these special mention should be made of the invaluable "Faussett Collection," entrusted for exhibition by the liberal permission of Mr. Mayer, who became possessed of this unequalled treasure of Kentish antiquities in 1855 when the acquisition had been declined by the trustees of the British Museum. The original narrative of excavations carried out by the Rev. Bryan Faussett in the last century has been admirably edited by Mr. Roach Smith, and forms one of the most important contributions to Archæological Literature. With this large collection was displayed another, scarcely less important, namely, the Saxon ornaments and relics recently disinterred near Faversham and contributed to the museum by Mr. Gibbs of that town. Some of the ornaments, of gold and silver richly jeweled, have been published in the Transactions of the Kent Archæological Society. Numerous antiquities and other objects were sent from the museum of that body now deposited at Maidstone, from the Charles Museum in that town, from the museums at Canterbury and Dover, and from the place last named were also entrusted for exhibition regalia, seals, charters, &c., belonging to the Corporation, the silver oar of the Lords Warden, the ancient horn used for assembling the commonalty, &c. By permission of H. R. H. the Commander-in-Chief the ancient keys of Dover Castle, a sword of parade, with other relics there preserved, were placed in the Museum. The gracious condescension of Her Majesty claims most grateful remembrance; by her special permission the remarkable painting of the embarkation of Henry VIII. for France, in 1520, in the renowned "Harry Grace à Dieu," was sent from Hampton Court, with other valuable objects from the Royal Collections at Windsor Castle. An instructive selection of armour and arms was sent, by sanction of the Secretary at War, from the Tower and the Arsenal at Woolwich. By permission of the Earl Stanhope, the President, and the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, several highly important MSS. relating to Kent were received, including a transcript of the *Liber Roffensis*, Heraldic Visitations, memorials of Canterbury Cathedral, and a minutely detailed inventory of the ancient evidences belonging to the Chapter of Rochester. The endeavor to illustrate the productions of the prototypographer, Caxton, as a native of Kent, was attended with successful results. By liberal permission of His Grace the Primate, the precious MS. of the "Dictes of Philosophers," containing what has often been accepted as a portraiture of the venerable printer, was sent from the Lambeth Library with several rare printed volumes, and the series was augmented through the kindness of the Earl Spencer, Mr. Tite, M.P., the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, and other collectors. Through the

obliging mediation of Mr. Roach Smith, whose exertions in favor of the Institute and the proposed display of Kentish Antiquities mainly ensured the success of the Museum, the vestiges of Roman and other periods were copiously illustrated; mention must be specially made of the friendly contributions of Mr. H. Wickham, Mr. J. E. Price, Mr. John Brent, Mr. Crafter, Major Luard, Mr. Murton, Mr. Bowyer Nichols, Mr. Walter, and other Kentish collectors. Amongst choice works of mediæval date may be specified family relics connected with the county sent by Mr. Elsted of Dover.

The Evening Meeting was held, by the sanction of the Lords of the Treasury and with the kind approval of the local authorities, in the Court Room at the County Court. The Chair was taken by the MARQUESS CAMDEN, and the following memoirs were read:—

Bayham Abbey; by the Rev. J. L. PETIT, F.S.A. The architectural peculiarities of that picturesque structure, on the borders of Kent and Sussex, were illustrated by a beautiful series of drawings executed by Mr. Petit specially for this occasion. A plan of the remains, on a large scale, showing the arrangements of the conventual church, which presents very peculiar features in its proportions and in the details of the adjacent buildings, was brought by the Marquess Camden on whose property this remarkable Premonstratensian abbey, now in ruins, is situated.¹

Legal Archæology, with notices of legal celebrities connected with Kent, from the earliest times; by EDWARD FOSS, Esq., F.S.A. Mr. Foss adverted to the remarkable fact that not less than fifteen Archbishops of Canterbury and seven Bishops of Rochester had attained to the dignity of Chancellor.

Wednesday, July 29.

At a very early hour a few keen archæologists, under the guidance of the Rev. Edward Hill, set forth on a visit, accompanied by the talented antiquary and geologist of Maidstone, Mr. Bensted, to the remains near Aylesford, the chief attraction being Kits Coty House near the road from Maidstone to Rochester, and what is called "Lower Kits Coty," an overthrown cromlech about midway between Kits Coty and Aylesford. The slabs of which these remarkable monuments are formed are of huge size; they are situated adjacent to the ancient "Pilgrims' Way." Mr. Bensted kindly gave a full account of these curious vestiges of the earliest period, and he pointed out the monolith known as the "Coffin Stone," and the stones at Tottenden. He brought a map on a large scale which, besides these remains, indicated the position of others destroyed within the last forty years, such as a tomb discovered in 1822, and near to this was formerly an erect slab known as the "White Horse Stone."²

A meeting of the HISTORICAL SECTION took place in the Guildhall, the MARQUESS CAMDEN presiding in the absence of the Dean of Chichester. The following memoirs were read:—

¹ A memoir by the Rev. G. M. Cooper, On the Origin and History of Bayham, is given in *Sussex Archæol. Coll.*, vol. ix. p. 145.

² A very interesting little volume on these remains was published at Maidstone

in 1861, entitled "Round about Kits Coty House; an Essay on popular Topography." London: Bell and Daldy. Much valuable information may here be found regarding this curious district of Kent.

Roger de Leybourne—his share in the Barons' War; by JOSEPH BURTT, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Public Records. Mr. Burt took occasion to invite attention to a valuable Roll preserved amongst the records of the Royal Exchequer, a document of great historical interest especially to the Kentish antiquary, hitherto unnoticed and almost unknown. It comprises the expenses incurred by Roger de Leybourne in the service of Henry III., commencing in May, 1264. Some extracts were given showing the value of the document, and the precise details which it supplies regarding military movements at the period, particularly in Kent. These accounts are moreover the earliest known record of household expenditure. The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne and Mr. Beresford Hope made some remarks on the great value of such evidences of the state of the country during so momentous a period, and the desire was strongly expressed by the Marquess Camden that the Roll to which notice had been first drawn on this occasion should be published entire in the *Archæologia Cantiana*. Mr. Burt expressed gratification that the few extracts which had been read had sufficed to show the local interest of a document which he begged to leave entirely at the disposal of the Kentish Society, in accordance with the suggestion of their noble President.

The Chair having then been taken by Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, President of the Section of Antiquities, a Report was read on Excavations at Wroxeter during the last three years, with notices of Inscriptions and other relics discovered; by the Rev. H. M. SCARTH, Prebendary of Wells. At the close of this communication Mr. ROACH SMITH offered some interesting remarks on the value of the results already obtained through private liberality in the excavations at *Uriconium*, and the opportunity afforded of acquiring definite information regarding the construction and arrangement of buildings in Romano-British cities, and the amount of domestic comfort and civilization at the period of Roman occupation. No great remains, he observed, are found at Roman towns near the coast such as Rochester or Canterbury; the Romans there held comparatively peaceful possession, whilst the inland settlements required extensive military works to keep the natives in subjection. It was to be regretted that only so small a portion of the extensive area of *Uriconium*, about three miles in circuit, had hitherto been laid open; the work might well claim the aid of Government, and the influence of archæologists as well as of the numerous archæological societies should be combined in the endeavor to prevail upon the Government, according to the example of some continental countries, to encourage researches into National Antiquities.

The next memoir was On the Landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain; by EDWIN GUEST, Esq., D.C.L., Master of Gonville and Caius College.

In the afternoon a numerous party proceeded to Cobham Hall, on the invitation of the Earl of Darnley, to inspect the precious collection of paintings by the great masters, under the obliging guidance of George Scharf, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the National Portrait Gallery. On leaving the gallery the noble Earl conducted the visitors to the gardens, and offered to them tea and other refreshments under the spreading shadow of a large horse-chestnut tree in the pleasure-grounds. Cobham Church was also visited. The archæologists were very kindly welcomed by the vicar, the Rev. E. H. Loring, and some remarks on its architectural features were offered by Mr. Parker; Mr. J. G. Waller gave an account of the remarkable monumental brasses of the Cobham family; and a few observations were

added by Mr. Bloxam on the tomb in the chancel with the effigies of George Brooke, Lord Cobham, who died 1558, and his lady. This fine memorial was much damaged some years since by the fall of a beam. The Brasses, forming an unique series of great interest, have been illustrated in Messrs. Waller's excellent work, recently completed, on the Sepulchral Brasses of Great Britain.

Whilst the majority of members were thus occupied at Cobham, a small number proceeded, under the friendly direction of Mr. Roach Smith, to the sites of extensive Roman potteries in the Marshes near Upchurch and Otterham Creek. At the former place they were welcomed by the Rev. J. Woodruff, and examined his large collection of "Upchurch ware," of which a considerable variety of specimens were likewise shown in the Temporary Museum. This district, where an extensive branch of Roman industry was carried on, is very difficult of access, being intersected by numerous creeks, and the broken *ficilia* lie at a considerable depth in the mud. Mr. Roach Smith has given a very interesting account of these remains in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix., p. 223. See also Mr. Wright's *Wanderings of an Antiquary*.

At the Evening Meeting in the County Court the Chair was taken by the Very Rev. the DEAN of CHICHESTER, and the following memoirs were read :—

Visits to Rochester and Chatham by Royal and distinguished Personages, English and Foreign, between the years 1300 and 1783 ; by W. B. RYE, Esq., Assistant-Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum.

On a hitherto unpublished Passage in the Life of John Warner, Bishop of Rochester ; by the Rev. JAMES LEE WARNER.

Thursday, July 30.

At an early hour a large party set forth by special train to Sevenoaks, where carriages were in readiness at the station to convey them to Knole ; where Mr. Scharf was a most efficient and agreeable cicerone in the examination of the valuable collection of historical portraits, with various objects of art and of ancient date preserved in that stately mansion. Thence they proceeded, by the kind invitation of the noble President, to Wildernes Park, and were very hospitably entertained by the MARQUESS CAMDEN, to whom, at the close of the *dejeuner*, a hearty expression of thanks was offered on behalf of the Institute by Mr. Beresford Hope ; the visitors then took their leave, and proceeded by a drive of peculiar interest to The Mote at Ightham, where they were welcomed with the greatest courtesy and kindness by Major and Mrs. Luard. The party assembled in the Hall of that venerable and singularly picturesque mansion, and Major Luard read a notice of its history and ancient possessors, to which we are indebted for the following particulars.

We first hear of the Mote in possession of Ivo de Haut, who lived according to Hasted in the time of Henry II., or, as stated by other writers, in that of John or Henry III.

From Ivo a succession of possessors, of that family, is enumerated by Philipot and Hasted, to Richard de Haut, who held his shrievalty at the Mote in 1478 and again in 1482. There exists, however, among the Surrenden MSS. a transcript of the will of Sir Thomas Cawne, whose beautiful mural tomb and effigy exist in the chancel

of Ightham church. By that document, brought to light by the Rev. L. B. Larking, and published in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. iv. p. 221, it should appear that Sir Thomas was possessed of the Mote, a fact which had escaped the notice of topographers; he bequeathed it to his son Robert, when of full age. Sir Thomas Cawne died c. 1374. How long the Cawnes held the Mote and how it returned to the Hauts has not been shown. Richard Haut, before mentioned, espoused the cause of the Earl of Richmond on the death of Edward IV., and was consequently attainted by Richard III., who gave the property to Sir Robert Brakenbury; Sir Robert having fallen at Bosworth Field it was restored to the Hauts by Henry VII. on his accession in 1485. There is a tradition that Henry passed several days at the Mote, and that Margaret of Anjou visited the loyal Lancastrian family re-established there. In 1521 Sir Richard Clement, of Milton, Northamptonshire, purchased the property, which was acquired in 1544 by Sir John Allen, and in 1591 it was sold by Charles Allen to Sir William Selby, brother of Sir John Selby of Branxton, Northumberland. The estate continued in possession of the Selbys till 1773, when on the death of the last male heir it passed into the female line, and became the property of Mr. Thomas Brown, who took the name of Selby, and it was bequeathed by his son Mr. Thomas Selby, who died in 1820, to Prideaux John Selby, Esq., of Twizell House, Northumberland, the present possessor. In regard to the dates of various portions, the buildings might be assigned to the following periods, respectively,—the time of Ivo de Haut, of whose dwelling-place no vestige can now be pointed out, unless a vaulted chamber or crypt may be ascribed to so early an age; the work of the fourteenth century; and lastly that of the Tudor period. The date of the hall and contemporary portions may be about 1350, or, as Mr. Parker places them, ten years earlier, and an interesting question arises whether the hall was erected by one of the Haut family or by Sir Thomas Cawne who occurs as possessor of the Mote about that period. The weather-moulding of the external door of the hall terminates in two well-sculptured heads, probably portraying the builder and his wife. There was originally a louvre for the exit of smoke, and Major Luard had found part of the original shingled roof under that now covering the hall. The fire-place and a large transomed window may have been introduced by Edward Haut about the time of Henry VII. The chapel with its curious painted ceiling and carved woodwork seems to be of the time of Sir Richard Clement who purchased the property in 1521, as before mentioned; his arms appear on a poppy-head on the right near the chancel-screen; they are repeated impaling those of his first wife, Ann daughter of Sir W. Catesby, on the poppy-head on the left. She died in 1528. On the ceiling may be noticed the badge of Katharine of Arragon, divorced in 1534, a sheaf of arrows, the rose and pomegranate, and also other devices which seem associated with her times. There may be seen in the chapel the damaged case of a very curious musical instrument, in which a pair of organs was combined with a clavichord; it bears the achievement and crest of the Hoby family, being probably those of Sir Edward Hoby, constable of Queenborough Castle; in another compartment are the arms and quarterings of Carey. The case had been elaborately painted with arabesque ornaments, enriched in parts with delicate patterns moulded in relief and colored. The maker's name is thus inscribed,—*Lodowicus Thewes me fesit (sic) 1579*. Sir Edward Hoby married Margaret daughter

of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon. In concluding his notices of the Mote, Major Luard invited attention to a full-length portrait of a young lady, Dorothy, wife of Sir William Selby, and to a singular tradition associated with her memory, that through her sagacity the import of the anonymous letter addressed to Lord Montecagle as a warning against the Powder Plot was revealed. Two circumstances appeared to offer some corroboration of the story, one being the occurrence of the following lines in the epitaph in Ightham church which records the virtues of Dame Dorothy Selby,—

"Whose art disclosed that Plot, which had it taken,
Rome had triumphed and Briton's walls had shaken."

The other is that in decorations incised on slate at the back of the niche in which her monumental bust is placed there occurs, with representations of Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise, and of Jonah and the whale, to which the epitaph likewise refers, a curious subject exhibiting the Pope and conclave in conference giving instructions to Guy Fawkes, whilst in another part is seen the House of Parliament and Guy with his lantern approaching a pile of faggots and barrels of gunpowder. Major Luard produced a drawing of this strange decoration, which is almost invisible in the deep dark recess of the monument. The tradition regarding Dame Dorothy Selby was brought under the notice of the Institute some years since by the late Mr. Kemble.³

Mr. PARKER then, at Major Luard's request, accompanied the visitors in a careful examination of the structure, of which some notices and illustrations may be found in his "*Domestic Architecture*."⁴ The arrangements of the original house of the fourteenth century, which he considered to have been built by Sir Thomas Cawne, may be traced, almost entire, with the original chapel, over a picturesque vaulted chamber now used as a cellar. One of the original windows of the hall may still be seen in a pantry at its north side, but blocked up; the entrance gateway and other additions are of the time of Henry VIII.

The hearty thanks of the Society having been expressed to Major and Mrs. Luard, the excursionists next visited the ancient manor-house of the time of Edward I. now called Old Soar, of which a plan and view are given in Mr. Parker's "*Domestic Architecture*." They proceeded thence to Offham Green, where the ancient quintain has lately been renewed,⁵ St. Leonard's Tower at West Malling, a striking architectural relic attributed to Bishop Gundulph, Malling Abbey, Leybourn Castle, supposed to have been erected by Sir Roger de Leybourne in the reign of Henry III., and the church of Leybourn, where there is a singular double niche formed

³ An engraved plate, with a design almost precisely similar, exists at Shepton Mallett, Somerset, as shown in the Temporary Museum at the meeting of the Institute at Bristol. Catalogue of the Museum, p. 84. A drawing of the slab at Ightham was shown at a meeting of the Institute by Mr. Kemble in 1856; it is described in this Journal, vol. xiii. p. 416. See also Notes and Queries, vol. ii. second series, p. 248, where the epitaph is given; it may also be found in *Gent. Mag.*, Oct. 1863,

p. 444. Further notices are given in Notes and Queries, *ut supra*, pp. 314, 415; *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1863, p. 624; Dec. 1863, p. 757, &c.

⁴ The views of the Mote by Mr. Fairholt in the Archaeological Album, p. 187, represent its chief features. See also Nash's Mansions, second series.

⁵ Hasted gives a representation of this quintain, which stood opposite the dwelling of the Tresse family, whose estate was charged with its maintenance.

as a receptacle for the heart of that warlike knight. Sir Roger died in the Holy Land, and his heart was sent home to be deposited here; it was found some years since enclosed in a leaden vase, of which an account will be given in the forthcoming fifth volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. His widow had caused a second niche to be provided, with the intention that her own heart should be placed therein at the side of her husband's; however, she married again and was buried elsewhere.

In the evening the Museum of the Institute at the Corn Exchange was lighted up, and the large Kentish collection there arranged was a source of high gratification to the numerous visitors.

Friday, July 31.

A meeting of the Section of History was held at the Guildhall; the chair was taken by the MARQUESS CAMDEN, K.G., who, before the proceedings commenced, presented to the assembly the distinguished archæologist, M. Alfred Maury, Member of the Institute of France, who had arrived on the previous evening, being specially deputed by the Emperor of the French to attend the Congress. His Majesty, having been informed during his absence in the provinces that Dr. Guest had undertaken to give a discourse on the vexed question of the first landing of the Romans in Britain, a point of singular interest in connection with the great work on the campaigns of Julius Cæsar upon which His Imperial Majesty has long been engaged, forthwith directed M. Maury, his private librarian, to proceed to Rochester in order to transmit an accurate report of Dr. Guest's views on the subject. The noble Marquess stated that he had received from the Baron Gros a strong recommendation of the Imperial envoy and distinguished *savant* by whose presence the Institute was now honored; and he expressed his regret that the discourse which had shown such intimate knowledge of the difficult questions involved in the inquiry had unfortunately been delivered before the arrival of M. Maury, who would, however, he felt assured, receive from Dr. Guest the fullest explanation of his conclusions, and of the important results of the local investigations of which on a previous day he had given so interesting a statement.

The following Memoirs were then read:—

The Life and Times of Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester; by the Very Rev. the DEAN of CHICHESTER, D.D., F.R.S. At the close of this discourse, which was received with deep attention, the Bishop of Oxford proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Hook, and he took occasion with graceful pleasantry to compare certain incidents in the career of that distinguished writer of Ecclesiastical Biography with those which the Dean had so ably brought before them in the history of Gundulph.

The Buildings of Bishop Gundulph; by J. H. PARKER, Esq., F.S.A.⁶

The Textus Roffensis; by W. H. BLACK, Esq., F.S.A. That invaluable record was brought to the Guildhall by permission of the Chapter, and through the kindness of George Essell, Esq., the Chapter Clerk, to be placed before the meeting during the delivery of Mr. Black's discourse.

The last memoir included in the proceedings of the morning was, The Architectural History of Rochester Cathedral and of the Conventual Buildings; by the Rev. PROFESSOR WILLIS, F.R.S. This important dis-

⁶ Printed in Gent. Mag. Sept. 1863, p. 255.

course is reserved for future publication. At the close of the afternoon service, the Professor accompanied his large audience in a minute examination of the Cathedral and of its structural peculiarities.

In the evening the MARQUESS CAMDEN presided at a meeting at the County Court; the following Memoirs were read:—

The Dialect of Kent in Early Times: by RICHARD MORRIS, Esq.

On Old Rochester Bridge, and ancient remains adjacent to its site; by JOHN ROSS FOORD, Esq. In the course of Mr. Foord's address, showing intimate practical knowledge of a subject of great local interest which he kindly undertook to bring forward, illustrated by photographs and numerous very curious diagrams, he observed that the old bridge had been constructed at the cost of one liberal individual, Sir Robert Knolles, about the year 1392. The cost of such a bridge would now exceed £70,000. Few, perhaps, who passed over the old structure thought of the generous founder; as few now appreciate the advantages accruing from estates given for the support of the bridge; the new construction had involved an outlay of £150,000; it had been carried out and would be maintained by funds arising from those estates. As no statement was on record how the foundations of the old bridge had been laid, it might be acceptable to the members of the Institute to receive some information on the subject. They were constructed by driving piles, mostly of elm shod with Swedish iron, into the bed of the Medway, here chiefly of chalk. These piles were 20ft. in length, driven close together, and forming platforms about 45ft. in length by 20ft. in width. Mr. Foord described also the construction of the starlings outside these platforms, with half-timber piles ingeniously secured by ties, enclosing a space about 95ft. by 40ft. the intervening cavities being filled with chalk, the top and sides planked over with elm. A course of flat-bedded stones of Kentish rag was laid over the platform, and on that the solid masonry was built, the mortar being nearly as hard as the stone. The number of piles removed under Mr. Foord's direction, an operation which presented unusual difficulties, was upwards of 10,000; the quantity of timber about 250,000 cubic feet. A vast accumulation of piles chiefly, as before observed, of elm, with some of oak, still lay near the river side below the present bridge, on Mr. Foord's premises; and it was inspected by many visitors during the meeting. Mr. Foord gave also an account of discoveries made in preparing the foundation of the new inn near the ancient hostelry of The Crown. Foundations of buildings had been found, with indications apparently of a water-gate near the corner of the present street; Samian ware and other Roman relics had been also collected, which Mr. Foord sent to the Museum of the Institute; and he exhibited a vertebral bone of a large whale found in the sand at a depth of 9ft.; he stated the grounds of his belief that the huge fish had been cast ashore and perished on the banks of the Medway at some remote period.

The Monumental Remains in Rochester Cathedral; by M. HOLBECH BLOXAM, Esq., F.S.A.

Saturday, August 1.

This day was devoted to an excursion to Leeds Castle, by invitation of C. Wykeham Martin, Esq., and also to Battle Hall and other objects of archaeological attraction around Maidstone. A numerous party set forth by

special train to that town, where carriages had been provided to convey them to Leeds Castle, a valuable example of the military architecture of the fourteenth century, of which a short account from particulars supplied by the present possessor may be found in Mr. Parker's *Domestic Architecture*, part ii. p. 284. The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne kindly took the part of cicerone on the occasion. Battle Hall, about a quarter of a mile from Leeds, was a manor-house of the same period as the castle, but it has been much mutilated, the chief objects of interest now to be seen being the singular lavatory, date about *t.* Edw. III., in the hall, figured in *Domestic Architecture*, part ii. p. 46, and a painted panel supposed to have been the reredos of an altar. The visitors proceeded to Leeds Church, a curious structure with portions of early Norman date; the west side of the tower-arch, although in fact of that period, presents the appearance of Anglo-Saxon work. These and other architectural peculiarities were explained by Mr. Parker.

On their return to Maidstone the friendly hospitalities of the Mayor and Corporation awaited the excursionists at the Town Hall. At the close of the entertainment the Marquess Camden expressed the thanks of the Institute for so kind a welcome, and the noble President's motion was seconded by the Bishop of Oxford, who observed that such a society as the Institute in its periodical wanderings through the land could never be so much at home as in the grand old county of Kent, with its associations of England's greatness in church and state gathered together within its beautiful compass. And, as the Right Rev. Prelate remarked, with his wonted felicity of expression, archæologists might well rejoice to be received so cordially in the good town of Maidstone, for, if Canterbury be the ecclesiastical centre, so is the King's Town—the King's Parish—the civil centre of Kent. Certainly, with Penenden Heath close at hand with all its historical associations, the scene of Kentish gatherings from the time of Domesday or even more remote antiquity, it must be felt that the good town of Maidstone had that day acted in the old spirit of the great county of which it is the centre.

The Mayor (G. Edmett, Esq.) returned thanks; he expressed the gratification with which, in common with the members of the Corporation, he had hailed the visit of the Institute, and desired to tender to the Noble Marquess and his friends a most hearty welcome to their ancient town.

After a short address by Mr. Beresford Hope, the Hon. Lord Neaves proposed the health of the Mayoress and the Ladies; the party then dispersed to inspect the College and adjoining buildings; All Saints Church, of which the chief features were explained by Mr. Hope;⁷ the Palace, opened to their inspection by the kindness of Lady Frances Riddell; an ancient vaulted building or crypt at the corner of Gabriel's Hill, pronounced by Mr. Parker to be the lower story or store-house of a merchant's dwelling of the time of Richard II.; and, lastly, the old mansion, Chillington House, where the Charles Museum and the Museum of the Kent Archæological Society are deposited. Of these, Mr. Pretty, the obliging curator, did the honors, accompanied by Mr. Roach Smith, who gave numerous interesting particulars in regard to the Kentish

⁷ See Mr. Hope's notices of this fine church, *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. iv. p. xxxviii.

antiquities there preserved, including the Roman relics from a villa at Hartlip,⁸ recent discoveries at Canterbury, and the remarkable contents of a walled cemetery in Lockham Wood near Maidstone, excavated by the late Mr. Charles and Mr. C. T. Smythe, of which no account has been made public.⁹

The archaeologists next proceeded to Allington Castle on their return to Rochester. In the evening a *conversazione* took place in the Museum of the Institute, which was very numerously attended.

Sunday, August 2.

In the morning the Lord Bishop of Rochester preached in St. Nicholas' Church; in the evening a very impressive sermon was delivered by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the nave of the Cathedral, which was crowded to excess. Sittings were provided for 1900 persons. The text selected by the Primate was Ephesians, c. iii. v. 8. The Marquess Camden, President of the Institute, attended the service, with a numerous assemblage of the members and distinguished visitors present at the meeting.

Monday, August 3.

A meeting was held at the Guildhall; the MARQUESS CAMDEN, K.G., in the Chair. The Lord Primate, the Bishop of Rochester, the Bishop of Gibraltar, the Earl and Countess Darnley, Lord Talbot, Lord Neaves, M. Maury, Mr. Beresford Hope, and many other persons of note, were present.

The Rev. Edward Venables, in the absence of EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., Treasurer of the Institute, read the following communication from him relating to the Mint at Rochester.

"There is very little to be said about the Rochester Mint, either royal or episcopal. Ruding has told all that was known in his time, and all the knowledge we have acquired, since his work was published, is gleaned from a few coins which have come to our knowledge. The earliest fact respecting the establishment of a Mint at Rochester is derived from the *Leges Anglo-Saxonice*, by which we learn that Æthelstan had two moneys in this city, but the only specimen of that monarch's coinage is one which was discovered in the South of Ireland, and was made known to the public by Mr. Lindsay in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 35, and reads, as legend, *HYNGAR MO ROF CIVIT*. See Lindsay's *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, pl. 4, no. 103.

A coin of Eadgar in the British Museum is the only one known, it reads *SIDEMAN ON ROF*.

Of Æthelred II. several coins are known. The names of moneys which occur upon specimens preserved in the British Museum are *EDSIGE*, *GOLDWINE*, *LEOFRIC*, *SEDEWINE*.

Cnut is recorded to have struck coins here, but I cannot quote a specimen.

⁸ See Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Ant.*, vol. ii., where a plan of the villa is given.

⁹ Noticed in the *Archæologia Cantiana* vol. ii. p. xxxix.

Of Harold I. the British Museum possesses the only specimen which I am able to mention ; none were known to Ruding or Lindsay. It reads GODVUN ON ROG.

The moneyers known of Edward the Confessor are AEDWINE, GODWINE, ULCATEL.

Of Harold II. the British Museum possesses perhaps the only known specimen, it reads, LEOFSTAN ON ROFL.

It is somewhat remarkable that in Domesday Book there is not any mention of a Mint in Rochester, although coins are known to have been struck there by William I. ; and, as it is not quite easy to separate the coins of one from the other of these monarchs, the names of the moneyers which occur upon either in the British Museum are here given together, AELSTAN, GYÐRIED, LIFSTAN, LIEWINE, HORN, OEÐGRIM, WULFWINE.

The valuable record, the *Textus Roffensis*, mentions Goldwine and Rodbert as moneyers in the reign of Henry I., and also states that Goldwine granted a house &c., to Bishop Ernulph, who held the See for nine years, from Christmas 1115 to March 1124, and to the monks of St. Andrew, on condition that he should be received as a monk into that house.

In Henry II.'s reign we have, on coins still existing, two moneyers, Alisandre and Humfrei. Of John no coins are now known to exist, though in 1208 sixteen moneyers from various towns, Rochester amongst the number, were commanded to appear before the king, at Westminster, and to bring with them all their dies. By this it would appear not only that a Mint existed at Rochester, but that it had been actually in operation. Coins were struck here in the reign of Henry III., but after this time there is not any trace of a Rochester coinage.

Of the Episcopal Mint the information is extremely scanty. From the *Registrum Roffense* it appears that Æthelstan granted to Kyneferd and the monks of St. Andrew a moneyer, but no episcopal coins have been discovered, nor does there appear to be any other notice of this Mint, either of its operation or termination."

Mr. Venables then read the following letter from BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., regarding subjects of interest in the early history of Kent, especially the local names and dialect of the county ; this letter was addressed to Mr. Roach Smith, and by him communicated to the Institute.

"I have learned with much pleasure that the Archæological Institute has chosen Rochester for its trysting place, a city which, next to Canterbury, appears to me the most desirable in England, as being a point around which are clustered localities, traditions, and objects of the highest interest to the historian, the archæologist, and the philologist.

"Passing by the period of the Roman occupation of Britain, with which very few are so intimately acquainted as yourself, but of which, I confess with regret, my knowledge is very slight, I date the few points in which I feel an interest from the landing of Hengest and Horsa in the year 449. To you I need not write on monumental antiquities of the Saxon period, even were I versed in them ; but what I would fain see become an object of prominent interest is the branch of archæology connected with philology and ethnology, a branch which has not until recently received in England the attention it deserves, at least as far as our own country is concerned, a circumstance which is no doubt in great measure to be ascribed to the inadequate knowledge possessed by our archæologists of former days of the old language of England. This state of things, however, happily no longer

exists, and we can now boast of many able Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian scholars; and may, therefore, confidently look for the application of their acquirements to the solution of many questions of interest connected with our early history and ethnology. Of such I will mention our local names and provincial dialects; and to these I would gladly see that attention directed which they so well deserve.

"Our antiquaries of former times were undoubtedly men of vast industry and zeal, and, as such, must ever claim our gratitude; for even now we work up, and improve upon, the old materials which they have bequeathed to us; but a deficiency of accurate philological knowledge was the rock on which they split. In proof of this assertion may be cited the lexicographer Lye, who, while his great and valuable work, his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary and Grammar, stands perhaps unrivalled as a collection of examples, was manifestly unconscious of some of the most obvious rules of the Anglo-Saxon accidence. The like may be said of his learned and estimable predecessor Hickes. Yet, with all their short comings, to whom is the Anglo-Saxon student so deeply indebted as to Hickes and Lye?

"The establishment of the Kentish kingdom by Hengest may possibly form a topic of discussion at the meeting of the Institute. This has by some been pronounced a myth, though on what ground is not very evident. For there can hardly be a doubt of its having been founded by adventurers from the north, and that such adventurers were under a leader or (as was quite common in such cases) leaders, who had names, and why their names should not have been Hengest and Horsa, I am at a loss to conceive. It has been objected that these names both signify *a horse*; but do not names derived from beasts and birds, and even fishes, abound not only in England but in other countries of Europe, even at the present day? Have we not Wolfe, Lambe, Hawke, Spratt, Herring, &c.? And down almost to our own time the noblest Danish families bore similar names, as Dan (Doe), Oxe, Giög (Cuckoo). The aborigines, too, of North America bear names derived from animals, as the Old Eagle, the Old Hawke, &c. Another objection is, that there were two leaders; but such was the custom in the North, of which numerous instances occur in the Chronicles and Sagas, as Inguar and Ubba, Herlaugr and Hrollaugr, kings in Rumedal mentioned by Snorri. In most of these instances we have the alliteration, as in Hengest and Horsa. That Hengest and, of course, Horsa, were Jutish chiefs, we learn from Bede and (apparently copying from him) the Saxon Chronicle, also from an episode in Beowulf and from the fragment on the 'Fight at Finnesburh.' From the two last mentioned he appears to have been a vassal or thane of the Danish or Jutish King Hålfðan, who lived probably about the middle of the fifth century. That he is identical with our Hengest cannot be affirmed; though the character of the individual bearing the name celebrated in Beowulf and the 'Fight at Finnesburh,' as well as the chronology, are both favourable to that supposition. Moreover, in Kent some indications still exist that such individuals as Hengest and Horsa once figured there. I allude to monuments and local names. Of the latter whether they are indebted to the two Jutish brothers, or to any one stallion and any one horse, is matter perhaps of doubt. Of such names are instances, Hengestesdūn (Sax. Chron. a° 735), Horsted, &c.

"Of local names we find in Jutland many ending in *-ing*, as Salling, Kolding, Hiörring, Hierting, &c., corresponding with which we have in Kent Malling, Selling, Stelling, and others. In Jutland we meet with

many in *-vig*, as Lemvig, Vestervig, &c., while in Kent we have its equivalent in *-wich*, as Sandwich, Greenwich, Woolwich, &c. *Stedt*, as a termination, seems less frequent in Jutland than in Holstein, while in Kent there are many places ending in *-sted*. The termination *-ham*, so common in Kent and elsewhere in England, corresponding to the German *-heim*, does not appear in Jutland, as far as my means enable me to ascertain; and it seems singular that in Kent names of places ending in *-by* (*town*) do not occur, while they abound in the parts of England colonised by Northmen from Suffolk to the Forth. But equally remarkable with the absence of the ending in *-by*, is the existence of so many in *-hurst* (Germ. *horst*, Low Germ. *hōrst*, a *thicket*) and in *-den* (A. S. *dene*, a *dell*, *dale*) words, I believe, unknown in Jutland and the rest of Scandinavia.

"From the foregoing it will appear that the German element has entered largely into the composition of the invading force under Hengest and his brother. In fact, there seems very little to show what may be termed the Scandinavianism of the Kentish people, or what they have not in common with the neighbouring Saxon counties of Sussex and Hampshire. Even the names of the leaders are German (*Frisic*), *Hingst* and *Hors*. And, indeed, Beda expressly says, that no sooner had the first immigrants (who arrived in three long ships) informed their continental friends of the fertility of Britain and the sloth of the inhabitants, than a larger force forthwith followed, and that 'non mora, confluentibus certatim in insulam gentium memoratarum (Saxons, Angles, Jutes) catervis, grandescere populus cœpit advenarum.' Now it can hardly be doubted that all these reinforcements arrived in Kent, and that it was composed of Nord-albingians in general; whence perhaps may be explained the large proportion of Germanic terminations in the local nomenclature of the county.

"The termination in *-gate*, as in Margate, Ramsgate, &c., presents a difficulty. It would seem to be the Danish *gade*, Norse *gata*, signifying a *street*, as it does in Canongate, Ousegate; but how does this apply to the towns on the coast of Kent?

"But a source of knowledge of the population of Kent, besides the local names, is the local dialect, and to this due attention has not, as far as I am aware, hitherto been paid. Were my position such as to justify me in recommending this or that object as worthy of attention, I would say that a Glossary of Kentish words and phrases, comprising those of the Isle of Wight and the opposite coast of Wessex, would no doubt afford us some useful information on this subject, particularly if compared with the Jutish Glossary of Molbech. And surely among the Kentish peasantry some popular tales and traditions exist, of which one or other may be traceable to their continental home. I avail myself of this opportunity to draw attention to a remarkable manuscript in the British Museum (Arundel 57), written in 1340, in the Kentish dialect, which loudly calls for publication. To judge from such extracts as I have seen, it appears to me to be a valuable and singular specimen of the provincial dialect of the fourteenth century, more antiquated and far more good Saxon-English than the language of Chaucer, and would, if printed, no doubt largely contribute to our stock of Old English words and phrases, and not improbably to our Mythology. The author tells us that it 'is ywrite mid engliss of Kent.' And at the end he adds: 'þis boc is Dun Michelis of Norþgate, ywrite an englis of his ayene hand, þet hatte Ayenbite of inwyte. And is of the bochouse of Saynt Austines of Canterberi.' Some years ago Mr. Thomas

Wright issued a prospectus for the publication of this remarkable volume, but which unfortunately was never carried into effect.¹

"I enclose a translation of a curious document relative to a suit by Queen Eadgifu, widow of Eadward the Elder, and mother of Eadmund and Edred. It was first published in the supplement to Lye's Dictionary, and afterwards by Kemble in the *Codex Diplomaticus*. It will I trust be found of interest, both as a Kentish document, and as mentioning a *Dering* as a kinsman of the queen."

QUEEN EADGIFU'S DECLARATION.

" + In the year of the Incarnation DCCCCLXI. I Eadgifu Queen and mother of the Kings Eadmund and Eadred, for the salvation of my soul, cede to the Church of Christ in Canterbury, for the monks there serving God, these lands :—Meopham, Cooling, Lenham, Peckham, Farleigh, Monkton, Aldington, free from all secular burden except the three, viz., the construction of bridges and forts, and the armed levy. Now how these lands came into my possession, I have thought proper to declare to you all, namely, to Archbishop Odo, Primate of all Britain, and to the family of Christ, that is, to the monks in the city of Canterbury. It happened, at a certain time, that Sighelm my father was in want of thirty pounds, which he borrowed of a certain nobleman named Goda, and, as a security, gave him the land which is named Cooling, which he retained for seven years. But in the seventh year the levy was proclaimed throughout Kent, which my father Sighelm had to accompany. While this was in preparation, he recollected the thirty pounds which he owed to Goda, and which he forthwith caused to be returned to him. And because he had neither son nor daughter except myself, he made me heiress of that land and of all his other lands, and gave me the deeds. It then happened that my father fell in the war ; and when the said Goda heard that my father was dead in the war, he denied that the thirty pounds had been paid to him, and detained the land he had received from my father as a security for nearly six years. But in the sixth year a certain relative of mine, named Byrsgie Dyring, began immediately to make plaint before the chiefs and princes and 'witan' of the kingdom, for the injury done to his relative by Goda. And the chiefs and the 'witan' found to be just, and by a just judgment decreed, that I who was his daughter and heiress should clear my father, to wit, by an oath of thirty pounds, that he had paid the same thirty pounds, which, with witness of the whole kingdom, I did at Aylesford. But even then I was unable to get my land, until my friends went to King Eadward, and made requisition to him for the said land. Which king to wit interdicted the said Goda, on peril of all his honours, which he held of the king, from the said land, and so he gave up the land. But it happened not long after, that the said Goda was so accused before the king that he was sentenced to forfeit all he held of the king, and his life to be at the king's disposal. But the king gave him and all his possessions to me, with the titles of all his lands, to do with him according to his deserts ; but I restored to him

¹ A few copies (I think not more than 100) of the *Ayenbite of Inwit* have been printed for the Roxburghe Club ; but such a very restricted impression, con-

fined to the members of the Club, in no way contravenes the desirableness of the MS. being published, in the full sense of the word.—C. R. S.

all his lands, except a plot of two sulungs (*aratra*) at *Osterland*; but I did not restore to him the deeds, because I would prove what faith, for the benefit, he would hold towards me against the many injuries he had done me. But my Lord King Eadward being dead, his son Æthelstán succeeded to the kingdom, which king the said Goda solicited to pray that I would restore the title-deeds of his lands; and I, from love to King Æthelstán, restored to him all the titles of his lands, except the title of *Osterland*, which he with good will relinquished to me. Moreover, for himself and all his relations, born and unborn, that he would never make plaint on account of the aforesaid land, he declared by oath together with eleven consacramentals. This was done in a place called Hamme by Lewes. And I had the land with the title-deeds during the lives of the two kings my sons, Æthelstán and Eadmund. But after the decease of my son Eadred, I was despoiled of all my lands and chattels; and two of the often-named Goda, Leofstán and Leofric, took from me the above-mentioned lands, Cooling and *Osterland*, and came to the boy Eadwig, then recently raised to the throne, and declared that they had a greater right to those lands than I. I therefore continued deprived of those lands and everything else till the time of King Eadgar, who, on hearing how I had been treated and despoiled, restored to me my lands and all my property.

"Now I, with the permission and consent of him and the witness of all his bishops and nobles, have laid on Christ's altar in Canterbury, with my own hand, the charters of all my lands. If any one shall attempt to take this my gift from the jurisdiction of the said church, may the Omnipotent God take his kingdom from him."

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE then delivered an Address, intitled—General Considerations on the Church Architecture of South-Eastern England.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY having proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hope, the noble President, in tendering this acknowledgment to his accomplished friend for a discourse of great general interest, as well as local value to the Kentish antiquary, took occasion to express on behalf of the Institute their high gratification at the presence of M. Maury, and the consideration with which the proceedings of the Meeting had been honored by his Imperial Majesty. The Marquess regretted that their distinguished visitor had unfortunately not arrived in time to hear Dr. Guest's discourse on Julius Cæsar; he hoped, however, that M. Maury had received since his arrival every information which he could desire.

M. MAURY briefly responded, assuring the Marquess Camden that he would report to the Emperor all that he had seen and learned in regard to the views of Dr. Guest and other subjects which might prove acceptable to His Majesty. The Emperor, he observed, takes lively interest in archæology; and he earnestly desires that France and England should be united alike by the bonds of science as by the ties of commerce.

The Rev. C. H. HARTSHORNE then read a memoir on Rochester Castle. (Printed in this volume, p. 205.) At the close of the meeting he accompanied the Lord Primate and a numerous party in a short examination of the structure.

In the afternoon an excursion was arranged to visit the churches of Stone, Dartford, Darenth, and Horton Kirby. The first of these was built from offerings at the shrine of St. William of Perth, the Rochester martyr, murdered near that city in 1201, and canonized 1256; his legend is very obscure. Mr. Parker placed the date of Stone Church as c. 1250, and

was disposed to attribute the work to the same architect as the builder of the Abbey Church of Westminster. The church has been restored by Mr. Street at the cost of the rector, the Rev. F. Murray, by whom the visitors were courteously received. On leaving this church they were entertained very hospitably by Mr. White, one of the churchwardens, to whom the Earl of Darnley expressed their hearty acknowledgments. From Stone the party proceeded to Dartford, where some notes on the church, nunnery, and town were read by Mr. A. J. Dunkin. Mr. Parker remarked that the church was probably rebuilt by Gundulph. It has some interesting features; on one side of the chancel there is a singular priest's-chamber over a sacristy, with a window looking upon the altar. At Darenth he pointed out some points worthy of examination; there are Roman tiles of large size worked up in the wall at the west end; over the groined roof of the chancel there is a small chamber, into which Mr. Parker mounted by aid of a ladder, and pronounced it to be merely intended to give air to the roof, which had been raised in the fourteenth century. A similar chamber exists in Compton church, Surrey. A discussion arose regarding the sculptured font, which has been supposed to represent subjects of the legend of St. Dunstan. The Rev. R. P. Coates, the vicar, stated how improbable is this conjecture. The font may be of the time of Henry I.; it has been figured in the *Registrum Roffense*. The last object visited was the fine Early English church at Horton Kirby, one of the most remarkable in Kent. The vicar, the Rev. George Rashleigh, possesses a collection of gold ornaments of beautiful workmanship, found in 1801, with Roman remains, at Southfleet near Gravesend. They are figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 37.

Mr. ROACH SMITH kindly undertook the guidance of a party to the early remains at Coldrum and Addington. At the former there exists a stone circle, well defined, and a chamber, originally composed of sixteen or more large stones, of which two only stand *in situ*; the others have been undermined and lie in a hollow below. The monuments in Addington Park, about a mile from Coldrum, consist of at least two chambers, and probably there has been a circle of stones, but some excavation is requisite in order to show these remarkable vestiges of remote antiquity to better advantage. The masses of stone employed in the construction of these remains are of huge dimensions. The visit to these somewhat inaccessible objects was made on foot from Snodland through Padlesworth, where the ruined chapel figured in Thorpe's *Customale* was examined. Mr. Roach Smith and his friends were hospitably entertained by Messrs. Hoppy at Coldrum Lodge.

At the evening meeting at the County Court the following memoirs were read:—

The Sepulchral Brasses of Kent; by J. GREEN WALLER, Esq. Numerous illustrations were exhibited, including plates from Mr. Waller's work on the Sepulchral Brasses of England. The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in proposing thanks, warmly eulogised the author's taste and knowledge of his subject, and expressed the hope that the valuable publication above mentioned might speedily be completed. We have the pleasure to announce that it is now ready for delivery.

The Poet Gower and his probable connection with the County of Kent; by WILLIAM WARWICK, Esq.

Tuesday, August 4.

The customary Annual Meeting of the Members to receive the Report of the Auditors of the previous year, with that of the Central Committee, and to determine the place of meeting for the ensuing year, was held in the Council Chamber at the Guildhall. The chair was taken by the Hon. LORD NEAVES.

The Report of the Auditors for 1862 (printed at page 202 in this volume), and also the following Report of the Committee, were then read by Mr. Tucker; both were unanimously adopted.

The growth of taste for the study of National Antiquities since the year 1844, when an energetic archaeological movement was first made at the congress held at Canterbury in the summer of that year, has steadily progressed. The satisfactory evidence of this advance is clearly shown in the constant establishment of local societies in every part of the realm, formed for purposes kindred to those for which the Canterbury Meeting was organised. The beneficial tendency of such a movement in directing public attention to the landmarks of history, and to the better conservation of national monuments, is obvious to every loyal and intelligent mind. Whilst we lament the ruthless destruction of many precious memorials, archaeologists may well combine their energies not only to preserve those which remain, but also to give such an impulse as may promote the true appreciation of their bearing upon historic truth. The rapid progress of public works and utilitarian purposes has in recent times swept away not a few of those time-honored relics which had been spared in the crisis of religious fervor and of civil warfare; some compensation may, however, be recognised, whilst we lament numerous injuries occasioned by modern requirements, when we recall discoveries made in the course of various excavations and works connected with railways and engineering achievements. It may be hoped that whilst the country is becoming intersected by railway operations, many vestiges of value as illustrations of the manners and habits of bygone generations must be brought to light.

Your Committee hail with increasing satisfaction the growth in the National Depository, under the intelligent care of Mr. Franks, of collections of ancient remains, obtained in our own country, or from foreign lands, and of high value for scientific comparison, essential more particularly in connection with the obscure prehistoric periods. The last year has been marked by valuable accessions to the series under Mr. Franks' charge at the British Museum. In the prehistoric period valuable light has been thrown upon the vestiges of the earliest races, through the extension given to the assemblage of weapons and implements of stone, bronze, and other materials, which present the earliest evidence of the customs, the warfare, and the industrial skill of the inhabitants of Britain. It were needless to insist upon the increasing value which a series of relics of stone now possesses, not less to the geologist than to the antiquary and the ethnologist, in connection with those remarkable and difficult inquiries recently suggested by vestiges of human industry brought to light in the drift of the tertiary strata. Those discoveries have opened out a fresh page in the history of man, which the labors of Sir Charles Lyell, of Mr. Lubbock, Dr. Falconer, Mr. Evans, and other able investigators, have already done much to

elucidate. Much however remains to be done before the curious facts connected with such traces of primeval man can be reduced to lucid order ; and in pursuing the search after truth with scientific method and care, it is obviously of great importance to present to the student in our national depository, an extensive exemplification of all the objects of primeval antiquity found in various countries of the world. Our accomplished friend Mr. Franks has not failed to recognise the value of such collections, comparatively unattractive, perhaps, to the admirer of mediæval works of artistic skill. The recent acquisitions which he has secured for the Museum comprise an extensive series of stone antiquities from Denmark, from India, and other parts of the world.

A valuable group of ancient remains of the same period, including numerous funeral urns chiefly disinterred in Berkshire, in the Seven Barrows on Lambourn Downs, under the direction of our lamented friend and member Mr. Martin Atkins, has been deposited in the British Museum by his relict, at the suggestion of the President of Trinity College, with whose zealous interest in all subjects of national archæology we have long been familiar through his friendly participation in our proceedings.

Mr. Wise, author of a work on the Scenery and History of the New Forest, has prosecuted, by permission of her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests, extensive excavations in tumuli in that district, and also on the sites of extensive potteries of the Romano-British age at a spot popularly known as "Crock Hill." These remains of early industry have been presented to the National Museum, and the facts relating to their discovery are recorded in Mr. Wise's work.

The principal additions of objects from foreign countries which render the Museum daily more available for archæological study, are the vases acquired in Sicily by Mr. Dennis, who has resumed explorations which formerly threw much light upon the early history of Etruria and other districts of Italy. Recent political events in that country have been accompanied by increased activity in the exploration of ancient sites, especially in Magna Græcia. A precious assemblage of antique Christian relics of glass has been purchased by the Trustees—the well-known collection of the Counts Matarozzi, of very high interest in connection with Christian art and symbolism. The series of this class of objects at the Museum has thus been rendered the second in importance in Europe.

During the past year a remarkable discovery occurred near the Sussex coast, at Mountfield not far from Hastings, which presented a striking proof of the expediency of establishing some systematic regulation in regard to treasure-trove, a subject to which the attention of the Institute has frequently been invited. A laborer found, in ploughing, a hoard of ornaments of gold, such as rings, bracelets, and collars for the neck. In ignorance of their value he was content to dispose of this acquisition as old metal at 6*d.* an ounce. Having passed into other hands, it was ultimately sold for 500*l.* to a refiner, and forthwith melted down. The hoard has been estimated as equal in weight to 1000 gold coins of the earliest currency of the British islands, the imitations of the *stater* of Philip. It is greatly to be regretted that, in consequence of apprehension of this treasure being claimed, the purchaser hastily transferred it to the crucible, and all evidence of the peculiar character of these valuable objects, the largest deposit hitherto met with in England, has perished. The penalty of imprisonment, with hard labor, inflicted on the parties concerned in

this remarkable transaction, will probably only ensure the concealment of any like discovery in future, and thus deprive the archaeologist of information which is so essential to the elucidation of prehistoric times.

The Special Exhibitions of specimens of art which in previous years had given much satisfaction, have been followed up in the last season by the formation of a series of carvings in ivory, claiming especial notice, both on account of the great liberality with which the appeal of the Central Committee was again met in all quarters, and also because the exhibition proved the best exemplification of the art of sculpture in that beautiful material ever yet brought together, and it included productions of every country and period, from relics of Assyrian and Egyptian art to the productions of the eighteenth century.

The Committee alluded with deep regret to many losses sustained during the previous year. The friends of the Institute had to deplore the decease of several of their early coadjutors, and of those whose influence and valued aid had promoted the Annual Congresses and the general interests of archaeology. Amongst these was to be numbered Mr. Lestrange, one of their warmest friends in Norfolk, who was engaged at the time of his lamented decease in the arduous undertaking of the decorations of the ceiling at Ely Cathedral. The late Viscount Dungannon, the accomplished biographer of King William III., had rendered hearty co-operation at the meeting of the Institute in Shropshire, and on all occasions fostered archaeological research; another kind friend also, the Ven. Archdeacon of Leicester, now no more, promoted zealously the gratification of the proceedings at Lincoln in 1848; the late Lord Monson must also be held in honored remembrance in connection with that successful gathering, at which he most kindly undertook the duties of President in the Section of Antiquities, and contributed a valuable Memoir to the volume of Transactions on that occasion. Lord Monson had long devoted his leisure to the investigation of family history and subjects of local research which, had his life been spared, might have formed, it was hoped, an important addition to topographical and historical literature connected with his county. Amongst other members and friends whose recent loss must be recorded are Mr. F. Lowry Barnwell, F.S.A., for some time a member of the Central Committee, Mr. Joseph Martineau, Mr. John Peggo, the Rev. Richard Duffield, local secretary for Essex, and Mr. Edward Scarth. Nor can we omit to name with grateful respect the Ven. Warden of the University of Durham, Archdeacon Thorpe, through whose invitation and welcome the visit of the Institute in 1852 derived so great a charm; his generous hospitalities in the old palatial hall of Bishop Hatfield's Castle will long be remembered. There is none, however, the loss of whose kindly and generous co-operation we have had so deeply to deplore, or who in his intellectual career, so sadly cut short, has rendered more essential service to archaeological science than our lamented friend, Henry Rhind. On his return from the banks of the Nile, where his shattered health had in previous years been in some measure restored amidst the interest of those great vestiges of antiquity which his pen has so well described, he died early in the present month at Zürich. In his pursuit of knowledge Mr. Rhind was remarkable for calm unbiassed judgment and patient investigation of difficult questions. We may recall with gratification how much was due to his friendly co-operation in the instructive display of Scottish antiquities and historical relics by which the meeting at Edinburgh was

signalised. Our Journal was enriched by his acute researches, as were likewise other periodicals, the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, the *Retro-spective Review*, and the *Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries*; to the body last named he has bequeathed his large collections and library, with the endowment, moreover, of a lectureship of archæology, and a fund for future explorations. The most signal service, however, rendered by Mr. Rhind, consisted in zealous advocacy of a modification of the onerous law of Treasure-trove in North Britain; the consequent adoption by the Government of a system analogous to that introduced in Denmark proves daily more and more advantageous to the diffusion of antiquarian knowledge and the enrichment of the national museum in the northern metropolis.

In closing the sad record of losses recently sustained, the untimely end of a distinguished member, the Duke of Hamilton, must be mentioned with deep regret. The rich treasures of his tasteful collections were ever liberally placed at the disposal of the Institute; it was always with friendly courtesy that he engaged in promoting every purpose connected with the illustration of ancient arts and manners.

The lease of the apartments occupied by the Institute since 1849 will terminate at Michaelmas, and the Committee have in vain sought to obtain a renewal. The heavy increase of rent demanded by the lessors, the Directors of the Union Bank, who, moreover, would only grant a yearly tenancy, has rendered it necessary to seek for other quarters. After some months of inquiry and advertising for other rooms, the Committee have concluded to take apartments at No. 1, Burlington Gardens, a desirable and commodious situation, comparatively free from the serious inconvenience through noisy traffic by which the meetings were often interrupted in the rooms in Suffolk Street. Some members may possibly regret that it has proved impracticable, in the present pressure for accommodation in the metropolis, to meet with more spacious apartments; it is hoped that the central and convenient position to which the Society is about to remove their office may make amends for certain disadvantages in other respects; and, if the new apartments should prove inadequate for the monthly meetings at seasons when the attendance is numerous, friendly arrangement has been effected to obtain accommodation in the more spacious rooms of the Arundel Society immediately adjacent.

A vote of thanks was then cordially proposed by LORD NEAVES to the noble President of the previous year, Lord Lyttelton, whose friendly encouragement and participation in the proceedings of the Institute at their meeting in Worcester could not fail to be borne in grateful remembrance.

It was also proposed and carried by acclamation, that the MARQUESS CAMDEN, who had consented with so much kindness and gratifying courtesy to undertake the duties of Local President of the Meeting of the Institute in Kent, be elected President for the ensuing year.

M. Alfred Maury, Librarian of H. M. the Emperor of the French, Member of the Institute of France and of many learned societies, was then elected an Honorary Member. A large number of new members, chiefly resident in Kent, were likewise elected. The following lists of Members of the Committee retiring in annual course, and of Members of the Institute recommended to fill the vacancies, were then proposed and unanimously adopted.

Members retiring from the Committee:—The Earl Amherst, *Vice-President*; E. Akroyd, Esq.; the Rev. J. Beck; the Rev. J. Bathurst Deane; the Rev. G. Rhodes; Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq., M.P.; W. F. Vernon, Esq. The following being elected to fill the vacancies,—Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., F.S.A., *Vice-President*; J. Hewitt, Esq.; Sir Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, Bart., M.P.; Robert T. Pritchett, Esq., F.S.A.; the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Bolingbroke Bernard Woodward, Esq., F.S.A., Librarian to the Queen; James Yates, Esq. Also, as Auditors for the year 1863, Frederic Ouvry, Esq., Treas. Soc. Ant.; Sir Richard C. Kirby, C.B.

The question of the place of meeting for the ensuing year was then brought under consideration. Amongst several places from which assurances of friendly reception had been given, were mentioned Bury St. Edmunds, Derby, Southampton, Hereford, St. Albans, Dorchester (combined with Sherborne, Wimborne, and other attractive objects in Dorset), and lastly, Warwick, with which might be united Kenilworth, Coventry, and Stratford-on-Avon. Letters were read expressive of the favorable feeling of the Mayor and Corporation of Warwick, and also of the promise of hearty co-operation on the part of the Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society. It was unanimously carried that the meeting for the year 1864 should be held at Warwick, and that if practicable a visit should be arranged to Lichfield, so that the Institute might avail itself of the valued guidance of Professor Willis in the examination of the Cathedral.

It was also proposed by LORD NEAVES, with unanimous assent, that the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, LORD LEIGH, be requested to confer on the Institute the honor of taking the office of President of the meeting at Warwick.

The Rev. C. H. HARTSHORNE and Mr. PARKER, in expressing warm concurrence in the decision to hold the next meeting in the midland parts of England, desired to call attention to the existence of an efficient kindred society at Birmingham, whose co-operation might essentially promote the success of the visit of the Institute to Warwickshire.

At ten o'clock the MARQUESS CAMDEN took the chair in the Guildhall, and the following memoirs were read:

The Ancient Connection of the Sees of Canterbury and Rochester; by the Rev. W. STUBBS, M.A., Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Notices of the Archives of Rochester, and of certain documents preserved in the Public Record Office; by JOSEPH BURTT, Esq., Assistant-Keeper of Public Records.

On a singular Sun-dial of stone found amongst the debris of St. Martin's Church at Dover; by AMBROSE POYNTER, Esq.

The following papers were also received, which were not read, time proving insufficient.

Sketches of Hollingbourne, Kent; by Mr. A. Pryer, Maidstone; communicated through Mr. C. Roach Smith.

On the Nationality of the Family of Vortigern; by D. W. Nash, Esq., F.L.S.

The Runic Inscriptions at Maes-how, Orkney; by George Petrie, Esq., Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Corresponding Member of the Archaeological Institute, &c.

Memorials of Sir Anthony Deane, Commissioner of the Navy in the

reigns of Charles II. and James II. ; by the Rev. John Bathurst Deane, F.S.A.

Some Notices of Fairlawn and of Shipborne, Kent ; by Mr. Vane.

The meeting then adjourned, and a large party accompanied the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne to the Castle, in order to make a more detailed examination of its peculiar features than had been practicable in the limited time available on a previous day.

Soon after twelve o'clock the General Concluding Meeting was held in the Guildhall. The MARQUESS CAMDEN, K.G., presided. The Noble President observed that their first acknowledgments were due to the Mayor and Corporation, not only for the gratifying address of welcome by which the outset of the agreeable week now concluded had been cheered, but for the valuable furtherance of the objects of the meeting, in freely placing at the disposal of the Institute all public buildings and available accommodations.

The MAYOR (Henry Everist, Esq.) returned thanks, assuring the Noble Marquess that the Corporation had readily afforded every assistance in their power ; he was gratified by the assurance that the Institute had been pleased with their visit.

The HON. LORD NEAVES proposed thanks to the Kent Archæological Society. That well-organized body had greeted them with fraternal welcome, as fellow-laborers in the great field of National Archæology, and permitted the Institute to select freely from their Museum whatever might best enrich the series formed during the meeting in Rochester. Within the limited range of recent operations, a scene of delight and instruction had been presented scarcely to be equalled in any other county. He, Lord Neaves, had come from the far North to enjoy the varied attractions of the gathering—from that part of Northumberland sometimes called Scotland ; he was delighted to find many points of sympathy between Kent and that remote district. In the North they took their stand under St. Andrew as their patron ; here he found the noble cathedral dedicated in his honor. It appeared, moreover, that the fabric had in great part risen from contributions due to a Scotchman ;—it was raised, not by Scottish bonds, but by Scottish bones ;—from offerings at the shrine of a sainted baker of Perth, of whom he must confess that he had no previous knowledge. Lord Neaves concluded an address in his accustomed happy vein of pleasantry, by a warm recognition of the services which the Archæologists of Kent had rendered, under the auspices of the Noble Marquess now presiding, to that common cause of the investigation and conservation of National Antiquities, which must unite in loyal sympathies all who engage in purposes such as those for which they were assembled.

The MARQUESS CAMDEN remarked, in conveying his acknowledgments, that, as President of the Kent Society, he had felt high gratification in occupying also, throughout the instructive and pleasant proceedings now drawing to a close, the position of President of the Institute. He heard with pleasure that the Institute had gained several Kentish members, now, like himself, enrolled in both Societies ; and he expressed also satisfaction that the distinguished Envoy of the Emperor, M. Maury, had been added to the number of Honorary Members of the Institute.

The Rev. PROFESSOR WILLIS proposed thanks to the Lord Primate and to the Bishop of the diocese, patrons of the meeting ; to the Dean and Chap-

ter, and to the Clergy generally, for encouragement and assistance in the purposes of the Institute.

The PROVOST OF ORIEL returned his acknowledgments on the part of the Chapter, alluding with high commendations to the special pleasure and instruction afforded by the Professor's elucidation of their Cathedral History.

Thanks were proposed by the Rev. C. H. HARTSHORNE to all who had shown hospitalities to the Institute,—to their Noble President—to the Mayor and Corporation of Maidstone; nor must the worthy Churchwarden at Stone be forgotten, who had cheered the pilgrims with most generous welcome. But in truth many an Archæologist during the past week (as Mr. Hartshorne observed) might well say of Rochester with Pepys, "In general it was a great pleasure all the time I staid here to see how I am respected and honored by all people; and I find that I begin to know now how to receive so much reverence, which, at the beginning, I could not tell how to do."

Sir RICHARD KIRBY, C.B., moved thanks to the Contributors of Memoirs, —to Dr. Guest, Professor Willis, the Dean of Chichester, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Black, Mr. Parker, and to others, whose learned researches had been so happily combined for general gratification.

The Hon. LORD NEAVES proposed a grateful tribute to her Most Gracious Majesty, through whose consideration the Museum of the Institute had been strikingly enriched; to H. R. H. the Commander-in-Chief; to the Secretary-at-War; to the President and Council of the Society of Antiquaries; to numerous other Public Institutions also in the county, and to individual collectors, especially Mr. Mayer, of Liverpool, by whose generous confidence the assemblage of Kentish Antiquities and numerous instructive objects had been displayed, under Mr. Tucker's care, in the hall which the Mayor and Corporation of Rochester had kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute.

Mr. ROACH SMITH, in seconding Lord Neaves' proposition, expressed warmly the pleasure which he had derived from the visit of the Institute; it was at the close of such a gathering, which had given opportunities for friendly interchange of thought and knowledge with some of the best archæologists of the day, that the value of such proceedings might be appreciated. A pleasing episode in the meeting had been the advent from the shores of ancient Gaul of the Envoy specially deputed by his Imperial Majesty, who had honored the Society by so remarkable a proof of interest in their researches. Mr. Roach Smith observed that it had been his good fortune to conduct on two occasions during the week what he might designate the forlorn hope, in explorations attended with considerable fatigue and difficulty; on each they had been cheered by hospitable greeting, both in the unapproachable Upchurch Marshes, and amidst the wonderful vestiges of remote antiquity at Coldrum. By the learned Professor who had so ably elucidated the cathedral history, by Mr. Hartshorne, Mr. Parker, and others, well skilled in their respective departments, they had been guided in examining the works of civilized man, but he (Mr. Roach Smith) had undertaken to point out the landmarks of unrecorded races. In this inspection, and also in directing their attention to the wide-spread relics of Roman industry in the Upchurch Marshes, the series displayed in the Museum of the Institute had been of singular value, affording important illustrations of the vestiges of the earliest periods, and also of Roman occupation. He

could not too highly commend the service rendered by Mr. Tucker and his coadjutors in the arrangement of that remarkable museum. He drew especial attention to the large assemblage of Anglo-Saxon antiquities now first brought together through the generous permission of Mr. Mayer, by whom the Faussett Collection had once more been seen in Kent, accompanied by recent discoveries, especially the precious objects contributed by Mr. Gibbs of Faversham. No one could survey these beautiful relics without feeling how little in the ordinary course of education he had been taught regarding our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and how much light these remains throw on their social and industrial condition. Mr. Roach Smith took this occasion to refer to the anomaly that, in what he might designate *Archæological England*, at the present moment the Saxon documents, our earliest historic monuments, remain unpublished with the desirable accompaniment of an English version, as promised by the late Mr. Kemble, whose friend Mr. Thorpe had devoted many years to the preparation of a select series—a “*Diplomatorium Ævi Saxonici*,” with translations; he had failed, however, to obtain two hundred subscribers, to cover the risk of publication. This matter Mr. Roach Smith thought well worthy of the consideration of the Congress, and hoped that the Institute would gladly promote such a purpose, which must essentially conduce to the knowledge of our earlier historical materials.

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM said that the agreeable duty devolved upon him to express the warm esteem with which the Institute viewed the co-operation of those friends whose kind exertions had insured the success of the Congress. He proposed thanks to the Local Committee, particularly to the Local Secretaries, the Rev. R. P. Coates, Mr. G. Brindley Acworth, and Mr. Arnold; to another valued friend also, Mr. John Ross Foord, through whose obliging attentions and care the arrangements of the Museum had been carried out with excellent effect. Mr. Bingham felt that there were many—both public bodies and individuals—to whom a farewell expression of grateful regard was due; he might be permitted to make special mention of the noblemen and gentlemen, the Wardens of Rochester Bridge, through whose kindness facilities had been conceded in the use of the structure now occupying the site of a chapel associated with the honored name of John de Cobham and with his kindly consideration in olden times for the convenience of those who, like themselves, had been travellers to Rochester.

LORD NEAVES then proposed with warm eulogies the heartiest thanks of the Institute to the Noble President.

The MARQUESS CAMDEN responded, expressing the sincere gratification with which he had sought to promote the success of the visit of the Society to his county. He had delighted to form many valuable acquaintances amongst persons of kindred tastes. So far as archæological attainments were concerned, he could only lay claim to a lively interest in the pursuits of the Institute. He had, however, nearly gone through an apprenticeship with the Kent Society, in whose proceedings for several years he had taken active participation, and he congratulated himself to have had the opportunity, in the last year of his apprenticeship, of working with such masters of their art as those fellow-laborers with whom he had had the pleasure on the present occasion to be united.

The Meeting then terminated.

In the afternoon, some of the members visited Upnor Castle (of which a

view is given by Hasted), opposite Chatham dockyard. It was built in 1561 by Queen Elizabeth for the defence of the river. A large party proceeded under the guidance of Mr. Burt, on an agreeable excursion to Cooling Castle, where they were hospitably welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Murton. The license to crenellate was granted by Richard II. to John de Cobham in 1380. Mr. Parker explained the arrangements of the gateway, which is in a perfect state, with two round towers, on the summit of which are machicoulis; and he pointed out, a little below these, putlog holes in the walls for the insertion of timbers to support a wooden gallery, which was roofed and covered with hides; from this the defenders could securely operate. There was a portcullis, and remains are seen of the chamber for the windlass by which it was raised. On the outer face of one of the round towers is inserted a brass plate in form of a charter with a seal appended; it was so placed, doubtless, by the founder, whose arms, as it has been stated, appear on the seal; the inscription upon the plate is as follows:—

Knoweth that beth and shall be
That I am made in help of the contre
In knowing of whiche thing
This is chartre and witnessing.

An interesting drawing by Mr. Charles Winston, representing the gateway, and showing the position of this singular memorial, was exhibited, with other drawings of architectural subjects in Kent, in the Temporary Museum during the Meeting.

The archaeologists visited also Cooling Church, which has some details of interest and traces of mural painting, and proceeded to the Church of Cliffe, by some supposed to be the Cloveshoe of Anglo-Saxon times. They were received by the Rev. E. H. Leigh, who read a short memoir on the history and architecture of the building.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following donations received in aid of the expenses of the Rochester meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—Sir John Boileau, Bart., £5; Dr. Guest, £5; Frederic Ouvry, Esq., £5; Alexander Beresford Hope, Esq., £5; Mrs. Alexander Ker, £4; Joseph Mayer, Esq., £2; Colonel Lefroy, £1.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

DIE DARSTELLUNGEN DER BIBLIA PAUPERUM IN EINER HANDSCHRIFT DES XIV. JAHRHUNDERTS, AUFBEWAHRT IM STIFTE ST. FLORIAN IM ERZHERZOGTHUME OSTERREICH OB DER ENNS. Herausgegeben von A. CAMESINA; Erläutert von G. HRIDER. Mit. xxxiv. Tafeln. Wien. 1863.

THE history of those productions of the early engravers on wood known as block-books is involved in much obscurity. With few exceptions, the time when they were executed can only be guessed at, and of their origin nothing certain is known. Of these block-books that commonly called *Biblia Pauperum* is the most common, having been reproduced more frequently than any other, the *Ars Moriendi*, perhaps, excepted. It was doubtless indebted for its popularity to its subject, a sort of harmony of the Old and New Testaments, or a series of types and anti-types, the subject in the centre being taken from the New Testament, and the two lateral subjects from the Old Testament.¹ Seven or eight editions of this work exist in different collections in England, varying in style, and evidently produced in different countries, most probably in Holland and Germany; several manuscripts are also known, but no one has attempted to trace them to a common origin, nor are we aware of any recorded opinion that they existed prior to the fifteenth century. A work like the present, therefore, professing to give faithful representations of the earliest manuscript known, executed in the fourteenth century, possesses an especial interest, and the greatest credit is due to Herr Albert Camesina, of Vienna, for the care with which he appears to have executed his task. We are bound to presume that the copy is faithful, knowing, as we do, the deep and intelligent interest Herr Camesina takes in such subjects, and how well he must be aware of the importance of minute fidelity in the performance of such a task.

We are not informed whether the manuscript in question be perfect or not, and yet this is an extremely important question, and for this reason: only thirty-four plates are given in this reproduction, while all the copies of the block-book known contain forty—six, therefore, are wanting. It commences with the Annunciation and ends with the Assumption, and

¹ See in this Journal, vol. xii. pp. 369—373, some remarks by Mr. Scharf on the parallelism of subjects occurring in the *Biblia Pauperum* and early block-

books as compared with those found in the painted windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

would appear, therefore, so far to comprise the complete history of Our Saviour and the Virgin. Should the manuscript be complete, the fact that it contains the smaller number of subjects may be regarded as a proof that it is, if not the original, at least one of the earliest manuscripts of this series of designs. Herr Heider, who contributes a very interesting Introduction, attributes this manuscript certainly to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and says—"There breathes from the figures a tenderness and delicacy of feeling which remind us of the most beautiful poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." This is true, but he does not say to what country the work is to be attributed. In fact, this part of the subject would require long and careful examination, for there is much in it which has an English character, while some parts are as clearly German. Some parts, also, appear much more like the production of the latter part than the commencement of the fourteenth century.

We have said that the different editions of the block-books vary in character. There is a variation, also, between them and this manuscript, which is noteworthy. The subjects are the same, and there is sometimes a striking resemblance in the number and grouping of the figures employed, but in others the treatment is totally different, and in all there is a simplicity, a feeling, and a life far superior to the productions on wood.

Bibliographers have been always puzzled to give an explanation of the name by which this series of drawings is known—the *Biblia Pauperum*. It has been commonly called in English the Poor Man's Bible, but the correctness of this interpretation has very properly been doubted. Some have considered the meaning to be the Bible of the poor clergy or poor preachers, and the correctness of this explanation appears to be supported by the Introduction of Herr Heider. He describes a pictorial manuscript in the Monastery of Lillienfell, compiled by Abbot Ulrich about the middle of the fourteenth century, in the preface to which the Abbot declares his object to be, "to lay before poor clerks, who have not at their command large collections of books, the truths of Christianity in pictures and short words." We have here the suggested translation of *Biblia Pauperum*—the Bible of the poor clergy.

The Introduction of Herr Heider contains a very interesting account of various series of typical representations, commencing with the earliest known, that of the famous enameled Antependium of Klosterneuburg, a work of the twelfth century. In this we find the germ of the *Biblia Pauperum*. Herr Heider thus describes it:—"The events of the New Testament, which appear arranged with those of the Old Testament, commence with the Annunciation of Mary, place before our eyes the most important moments of the life of Christ, and conclude with the Kingdom of the Future, where Christ celebrates his second advent as Judge of the world. By the side of this series of representations, seventeen in number, are ranged two series of types from the Old Testament, which, however, are not placed arbitrarily, but appear arranged according to a leading principle. That is to say, the upper series takes its types before the law-giving of Moses, *ante legem*—the lower series, on the other hand, contains the typical representations from the time of the dominion of the Mosaic law, *sub lege*; so that between the two there appear the representations of the New Covenant, *sub gracia*." These are not all the subjects which are represented on the Antependium, but they are those which bear most directly upon the origin of the *Biblia Pauperum*. In 1844, Herr Camesina

published at Vienna a copy in lithography of this magnificent work of art colored in imitation of the original, with a volume of explanatory text by Herr Arneth. The title of this work is as follows:—"Das Niello-Antependium zu Klosterneuburg in Oesterreich, verfertigt im zwölften Jahrhunderte von Nicolaus aus Verdun. In der Originalgrösse lithographirt und auf eigne Kosten herausgegeben von Albert Camesina. Beschrieben und erläutert von Joseph Arneth." Unfortunately only few copies of this work were printed, and its costly nature precludes its admission into most libraries. It should be mentioned that the Antependium was originally an enameled *ambo* made in 1180 by Nicolas de Verdun, and that it was altered into its present form in 1320, when a few additional subjects were introduced.

J. WINTER JONES.

Archaeological Intelligence.

AN instructive and highly interesting collection has been formed in a district rich in treasures of antiquity, not less than in objects attractive to the votary of natural science,—the county of Wilts. The members of the Institute who took part in the Annual Meeting held at Salisbury will recall the historical and architectural attractions of the numerous subjects presented to their notice on that occasion, and also the interesting assemblage of Wiltshire Antiquities brought together in the Temporary Museum. The great treasure of archaeological evidence, it is true,—the collection made by the late Sir R. Colt Hoare,—remains at Stourhead, but it is comparatively unavailable for public instruction; much, however, remains scattered amongst local collectors, many of whom readily contributed their Wiltshire treasures for our gratification at the meeting in 1850. We have received with satisfaction the assurance of the success by which the establishment of the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum, in 1860, has been attended. That depository has been organised on a permanent footing, in a suitable and commodious building at Salisbury; the property being vested in the Town Council. The Museum is open free of charge during the greater part of the week. An instructive illustrated catalogue of the collections, already considerable in extent and carefully classified, has been published, well deserving the notice of antiquaries at large. The Museum contains, amongst numerous ancient relics, the large assemblage of miscellaneous mediæval objects collected by Mr. Brodie during excavations at Salisbury for drainage operations. There is a very remarkable series of implements of flint, including many from the drift, deposited by Dr. Blackmore and Mr. E. T. Stevens; the stone, bronze, and early iron objects have been carefully arranged and described by Mr. Stevens, and illustrated from his drawings. The mediæval series and pottery has been catalogued by our obliging friend and member of the Institute, Mr. Nightingale; the seals, which include an extensive Wiltshire series, by Mr. W. Osmond, jun.; whilst the valuable geological collections have been fully described by Dr. H. P. Blackmore. A valuable group of objects from the Pfahlbauten, or Lake-dwellings, at Robenhause in Switzerland, deserve especial notice; they have been presented to the Museum by the Hon. and Ven. Archdeacon

Harris, and an interesting *resumé* of the discovery of the Swiss lacustrine habitations is given. The Catalogue (price eighteen-pence, illustrated edition), may be obtained from Mr. E. T. Stevens, Minster Street, Salisbury.

The important contribution to the archæology of sepulchral memorials in the Middle Ages, long in course of publication by Messrs. J. G. and L. WALLER, has at length been brought to a satisfactory completion. The Series of Monumental Brasses in England, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, includes about 64 examples, carefully selected amongst those most valuable as illustrations of costume and armour, heraldry, &c.; they are, moreover, of essential value to the student of the arts of design and of monumental palæography. These remarkable works of calceography on a large scale have been reduced and engraved by Messrs. Waller with most careful accuracy and skill. Sixteen parts had been published from time to time, since the commencement of the undertaking; the concluding part (a double one, lately published) consists of letterpress and introduction, completing the volume, which is in demy folio: all the plates are tinted, and some are richly illuminated, showing the enamels, coloring, or other decoration of these beautiful and instructive examples of mediæval art. Price of each part, 6s.; or large paper, 8s. Subscribers desirous to complete their sets of this valuable series, are requested to apply to the authors, 68, Bolsover Street, London; to Messrs. Nichols, 25, Parliament Street; or to Messrs. Parker, London and Oxford, the Publishers.

Scarcely any attention has hitherto been given to the numerous incised memorials of metal and stone which exist in many continental countries, especially in Germany and the north of Europe. Some readers may recall the remarkable display of fac-similes of sepulchral brasses in foreign parts exhibited by the kindness of Mr. Nesbitt, at the meeting of the Institute in Chichester. The grand memorials of the ancestors of the reigning house of Saxony existing in the cathedrals of Meissen and Freiberg are amongst the most artistic and striking brasses existing in Germany, the effigies being mostly of life-size, with sumptuous accessory decorations. Herr Gerlach, at Freiberg (in Saxony), has prepared accurate fac-similes of these engraved monumental portraiture, and their publication is very desirable. He would gladly receive encouragement from those who take interest in such examples of mediæval art, and offers to transmit specimens of his reproductions of these highly curious brasses of Saxony.

We have pleasure in inviting attention to the proposed publication, by the Rev. H. M. SCARTH, of an illustrated description of all vestiges of Roman occupation discovered at various times in and around the city of Bath. Through Mr. Scarth's kindness, several of the more recent discoveries have been brought under the notice of the Institute and published in this Journal; his intimate acquaintance with Roman remains and palæography has likewise been repeatedly shown in his reports on the recent discoveries at *Uriconium*, read at our Annual Meetings. The intention of the monograph in preparation is to gather together, with the observations of Musgrave, Guidot, Warner, Carter, and the earlier writers on Roman antiquities at Bath, the scattered notices which have appeared in the publications of the Society of Antiquaries and in other works. The progress of antiquarian research and the influence of an efficient archæological Society in Somerset have done much in the last few years to throw light upon the early history of *Aquæ Solis* and the adjoining district.

The proposed work will form a quarto volume, similar to Mr. Roach Smith's *Roman London*; the price will be (to subscribers) one guinea; the illustrations will include numerous sculptures and inscriptions, altars, tombs, implements, personal ornaments, &c., with a map of the city, as it existed in Roman times, vestiges of temples, villas, and other architectural remains. Mr. Searth proposes also to give notices of the roads which here centered, giving ready access from all parts of Roman Britain to the healing waters of Bath; the camps and earthworks in the neighbourhood will moreover be described. Subscribers' names may be addressed to the Author, or to Mr. R. Peach, Bridge Street, Bath.

Our friendly correspondent Mr. V. DU NOYER, to whose valuable communications relating to the antiquities of the sister kingdom the Institute has so frequently during the last twenty years been indebted, has brought to light at Waterford a remarkable illuminated charter roll, temp. Richard II., which it is proposed to publish, as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers may have been found to guarantee the cost of the undertaking. Amongst the Muniments of that city is preserved this curious record, comprising the municipal charters from the time of Henry II. to Richard II.; a full length portrait of each king, whose charter is given, adorns the margin, including Edward III. when young, and again at an advanced age. These portraits vary from three to nine inches in length, some of the sovereigns being represented in armour, and some in robes of state. In addition to these are portraits of an archbishop and of a chancellor, of the chief burgesses also of Waterford, as well as of the Mayors of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, figured in the quaint costume of the reign of Richard, though partaking of the peculiarities of that of Edward III. Altogether this ancient work of art is unique of its kind; we are not aware of the existence of any similar collection of municipal charters; the roll doubtless deserves to be brought under the notice of archaeologists by the publication of fac-similes of the illuminations. The production of such a work will throw light on the history of art, and on social habits in the Anglo-Norman cities of Ireland at the close of the fourteenth century; the charters, moreover, are highly important in an historic point of view. The illuminations have been accurately traced and colored by Mr. Du Noyer; the more interesting portions of the roll will be edited by the Rev. James Graves, Hon. Sec. Kilkenny Arch. Soc. Names of subscribers are received by the Rev. James Graves, Ennisnag, Thomastown; and by George V. Du Noyer, Esq., Sydney Avenue, Blackrock, Dublin. The work will form one vol. 4to, with 19 plates in chromozincography, including an ancient view of Waterford. Price, to subscribers, 20s.

The catalogue of Scottish Seals by Mr. HENRY LAING, comprising numerous examples collected by him since the publication of his valuable volume produced under the auspices of the Bannatyne Club, is ready for publication. A very limited number of copies will be printed; those who take interest in Sphragistic Art are requested to forward their names without delay to the Publishers, Messrs. Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. The work (price, to Subscribers only, two guineas) will include more than 1,100 seals, with numerous illustrations. The seals preserved in the Public Record Office at the Rolls and amongst the Chapter muniments at Durham will, for the first time, be fully described.

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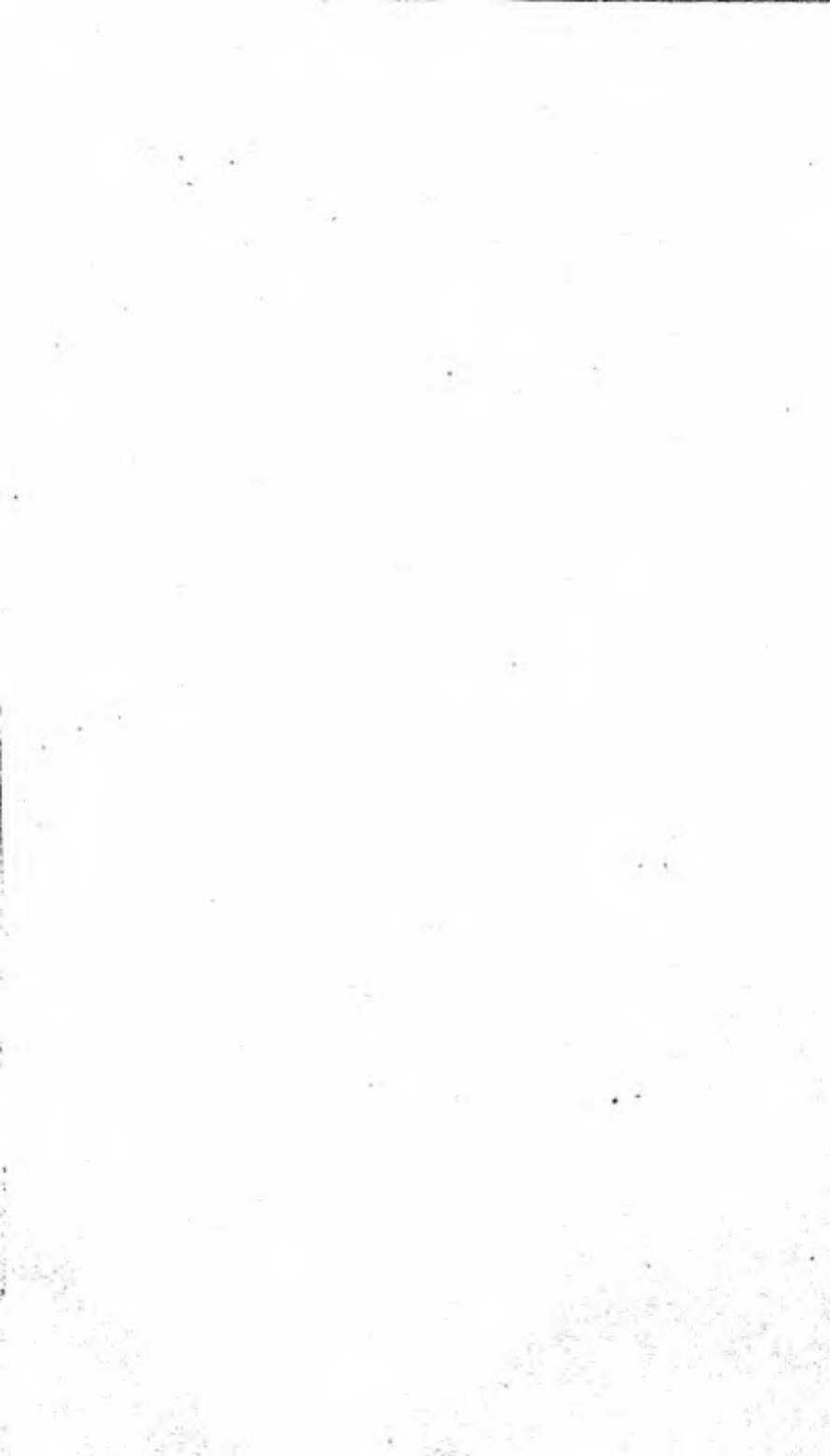
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